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Editorial: The Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South	257
Another Coming Meeting of Interest	259
The Christmas Meetings	259
Cicero's Tuscan Villa	George McCracken 261
Unwritten and Lost Epics of the Augustan Poets	Thomas Wyatt Dickson 278
The Development of Historiography Among the Romans	Marion Dittman 287
Notes	297
Pliny and the Nightingale	John Paul Heironimus
The "Ablative Absolute"	Arthur Harold Weston
An Ancient Robozone	Even T. Sage
Book Reviews	301
David M. Robinson, <i>Excavations at Olynthus (Mylonne)</i> ; Eusebius, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> , ed. and tr. Oulton (L. C. L.) (Peoples); Byron K. Humberger, <i>Types of Error in Latin Word Knowledge</i> (Pottar); John Kingsbury Colby, <i>Reading Latin</i> (Harrell).	
Hints for Teachers	309
Current Events	315
Recent Books	319

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Editorial

THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

The turn of the year has come, and it is time for all of us to begin laying our plans to attend the thirty-first annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. The meeting is to be held in St. Louis, Missouri, April 18, 19, and 20. The place of meeting is centrally located. Highways and railways lead to it from all directions. Special reduced railway rates have been applied for; they will be announced along with the final program.

Let us make this thirty-first meeting the biggest and the best in the Association's history so far. Old friends will be there, whom we shall be happy to see and to greet again. New friends will be there, whose friendship may mean much to us in the coming years. There will be an unusually fine program and delightful entertainment, including the rare treat of a Latin play in Latin.

It is too early to announce the final program, which will appear in the March or April number of the JOURNAL. The effort of the president to have every state in the Association represented has involved a little delay. Replies are not yet in from some who have been asked to participate, particularly teachers in secondary schools. Sessions on the first day will be held at headquarters, the Chase Hotel; on the two succeeding days, at Washington University. There will be a subscription dinner on Thursday evening

at the hotel, with short speeches followed by the president's address. On Friday afternoon Washington University will entertain the members at a tea in the Women's Building. On Friday evening the local chapter of Eta Sigma Phi will present the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus (in Latin) at Washington University for members of the Association. On Saturday there will be a Horace luncheon, presided over by Professor Flickinger, chairman of the committee on the Bimillennium Horatianum. The Wulfin collection of Greek and Roman Coins and the reproductions of the Saalburg Roman Camp will be on display at Washington University. A round-table discussion of present-day problems confronting the teacher of classics is being arranged for one of the sessions.

The following list of major papers and addresses thus far definitely arranged for is given without division into sessions:

GEORGE CURRIE, Birmingham, Southern College, "The Personal Appearance of Horace."

NORMAN W. DEWITT, Victoria College, University of Toronto, "*Lingua Mortua*."

ROY C. FLICKINGER, University of Iowa, "*Bimillennium Horatianum*."

C. H. FORBES, University of Nebraska, "The Economic Status of the Teaching Profession in Greece."

EUGENE MCCARTNEY, University of Michigan, "On Going a Journey."

EDWIN LEE JOHNSON, Vanderbilt University, "Some Imitative Words in Latin."

JOHN O. MOSELEY, University of Oklahoma, "Did Horace Study Law?"

GEORGE E. MYLONAS, Washington University, "The Mysteries of Eleusis" (in the light of his three seasons of excavation)—illustrated.

HAZEL O'DONOVAN, Northwestern High School, Detroit, "Comparison of the Methods of Teaching Latin in England and America."

MARBURY B. OGLE, University of Minnesota, formerly Professor in Charge of the School of Classical Studies, American Academy in Rome, "Old Rome and New"—illustrated.

W. A. OLDFATHER, University of Illinois, "The Causes of the Decline of the Roman Empire."

CLARA McDONALD OLSEN, P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, Gainesville, Florida, "Roman Culture and the Core Curriculum."

HENRY W. PRESCOTT, University of Chicago, "Literary Values in Classical Poetry."

KENNETH SCOTT, Western Reserve University, "Unemployment and the Dole in Greece and Rome."

MARY ALICE SELLERS, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, "Secondary-School Latin and the Educational Challenge of Today."

F. W. SHIPLEY, Washington University, "Horace" (president's address).

CLARA THOMPSON, Shorter College, Rome, Georgia, "Some Intra-Lingual Coördinations."

HAROLD G. THOMPSON, Supervisor of Ancient Languages, University of the State of New York: "Latin for 125,000 Pupils in New York State."

LUCY A. WHITSEL, Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia, "Elementary Latin in College."

ANOTHER COMING MEETING OF INTEREST

The Association Guillaume Budé will hold its second annual congress April 23-27, 1935, at the city of Nice. This powerful French Association has very much the same aims and ideals as our Classical Association of the Middle West and South, and the coming meeting will stress the need of active promotion of the study of the classical languages and the humanities in the education of France and of the world. The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical Association of New England are invited to send delegates and to take part in the coming Congress at Nice.

THE CHRISTMAS MEETINGS

The recent annual meeting of the American Philological Association, in conjunction with that of the Archaeological Institute of America, held in Toronto, December 27, 28, and 29, 1934, was eminently successful not only in the quality of the papers presented but also in point of numbers in attendance: There were one hundred and thirty-eight registrations for the Philological Association, eighty-three for the Archaeological Institute.

The Toronto hosts provided excellently for the entertainment of their visitors, and in accordance with the usual plan meetings of the two associations were held in neighboring rooms, so that it was possible for members of the two organizations with the utmost ease and convenience to hear papers presented to either organization. Many members of the Philological Association were naturally interested in the reports of the numerous activities of

the archaeologists, among others in the excavations in the Athenian Agora, at Corinth, Troy, and Olynthus. And the archaeologists reciprocated by their interest in subjects falling more strictly within the field specially designated philological.

Among matters of interest reported upon to the philologists in the business meeting of their association were the activities of the committee on materials for research in the classics, and the volumes newly published and the volumes projected in the series of Philological Monographs of the Association.

The newly elected president of the Philological Association is B. L. Ullman of the University of Chicago.

The next joint meeting will be held in New York City, December 26-28, 1935.

CICERO'S TUSCULAN VILLA

By GEORGE MCCrackEN
Susquehanna University
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In recent years there has been no lack of interest in the subject of Cicero's Tusculan villa; yet none of the five articles that have appeared since the close of the war¹ has treated the subject exhaustively, and, for the most part, they fail to touch upon the large amount of archaeological material. The many attempts to determine the site are unknown in this country, save to a few, and even the standard biographies of Cicero pay little attention to the topographical questions involved.² From this lack of adequate summaries of the subject my article derives its *raison d'être*.³

¹ Mabel V. Root, "A Visit to Cicero's Tusculan Villa," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XVI (1921), 34-41; Clara S. Streeter, "Tusculum and the Villa of Cicero," *Art and Arch.* XI (1921), 162-168; E. Quélenec, "Cicéron dans ses Villas," *Musée Belge* XXXIV (1930), 89-108; Viola A. Magee, "Cicero's Villas and Their Relation to His Life," *Trans. and Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LXIII (1932), xlii f.; Bertha C. Fortner, "Cicero's Town and Country Houses," *Class. Wk.* XXVII (1934), 177-181, esp. 178 f.

² Torsten Petersson, *Cicero, A Biography*: Berkeley, University of California Press (1920), 211, 213 f., 218, 314, 525; E. G. Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1914), 100. The latter locates the villa "above Tusculum," but the city was on the topmost part of the northern ridge of the Alban crater. During the winters of 1929-31 I made a careful survey of the *ager Tusculanus* while preparing the topographical part of a history of Tusculum which I hope soon to publish, and the present article is based upon that survey.

³ Frequent reference will hereafter be made to the following: A. Kircher, *Latium*: Amsterdam (1671); D. B. Mattei, *Memorie Istoriche dell' Antico Tuscolo oggi Frascati*: Rome (1711), reprinted in Latin by S. Havercamp in Burmann's edition of J. G. Graevius' *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*: Leyden (1723), VIII, no. 4; J. R. Vulpianus, *Vetus Latium Profanum*: Rome (1742), VIII: De Tusculanis et Algidien-sibus; J. L. Zuzzeri, *D'una Antica Villa Scoperta sul Dosso del Tuscolo*, etc.: Venice (1746); L. Canina, *Descrizione dell' Antico Tuscolo*: Rome (1841); R. Lanciani, "La Villa Castrimenesi di Q. Voconio Pollione," *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* XII (1884), 141-213; *idem*, *Storia degli Scavi*: Rome (1908); *idem*, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*: London (1909), 247-301; G. Tomassetti, *La Via Latina nel Medio Evo*: Rome (1886),

We should note at once that, when Cicero referred to his Tusculan property, he called it either his "*villa*" or his "*Tusculanum*," the latter word being a neuter adjective with the word *praedium* understood. The villa is often mentioned by Cicero and other writers without giving us any definite information concerning it,⁴ but there have been preserved in ancient literature enough references to it to give us some information about the details.

Cicero wrote to Atticus⁵ that there was no place where he was happier than at the *Tusculanum*, that he was pleased with his Tusculan and Pompeian villas though they had put him heavily in debt,⁶ and that when he was out walking at other places his feet involuntarily took him toward the *Tusculanum*.⁷ Pliny⁸ tells us that Cicero's villa had formerly been the property of Sulla, but this fact is never mentioned by Cicero himself, although he does mention Catulus and Vettius as former owners.⁹ Grossi-Gondi assumes that the villa which had been the property of Vettius was the *Tusculanum*, but Cicero does not expressly state this, and there may be significance in the fact that we learn of Vettius' previous ownership in a letter written at Antium. If we assume that Cicero acquired his villa at Antium from Vettius, then Pliny's statement need not be challenged.

The villa possessed a library¹⁰ which was in the so-called Lyceum,¹¹ the name given to the upper gymnasium in which Cicero placed the Hermathena sent him by Atticus. This setting pleased

reprinted from *Archivio della R. Società di Storia Patria* VIII (1885), 1-59, 399-509; IX (1886), 40-128, 372-432; O. E. Schmidt, "Ciceros Villen. III. Das Tusculanum," *Jahrbuch für klass. Altertumswissenschaft* III (1899), 466-472; F. Grossi-Gondi, *Il Tusculano nell'Età Classica*: Rome, Loescher (1908); T. Ashby, "The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna," *Papers of the British School at Rome* I (1902), 125-281; III (1906), 1-213; IV (1907), 1-161; V (1910), 213-425, Cited as "*Papers*"; L. Brtnický, "Ciceronovo Tusculanum" in *Sborník prakt. filologických dvornímu radovi profesorů Josefu Královi*=Festschrift für Prof. Joseph Kral: Prague (1913), 107-122.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Cicero, *Att.* I, x, 1; II, viii, 2; II, ix, 4; IV, ii, 5-7; XII, i, 1; Seneca, *Brev. Vit.* x, v, 2; Martianus Capella IX, 393. Nearly a hundred letters were written by Cicero at the villa, according to L. C. Purser's Oxford edition (1893-1902), e.g., *Att.* I, x; II, ii-iii (?). ⁵ *Att.* I, vi, 2. ⁶ *Att.* II, i, 11.

⁷ *Ibid.* XII, xlvii, 1; xv, xvii.

⁸ *N. H.* XXII, 12.

⁹ *Att.* IV, v, 2. Cf. also *Verr.*, *Act. Sec.* IV, 126; *De Or.* II, 13; *Acad. Pr.* II, 148.

¹⁰ *Div.* II, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.* I, 8; *Top.* I, 1.

Cicero so much that he wrote to his friend that the whole gymnasium seemed to be only an ἀνάθημα to the statue itself. Cicero asked Atticus to send him from Athens some statues for the decoration of the villa,¹² and his friend seems to have written about some herms of Pentelic marble with bronze heads and some *signa Megarica*, for Cicero wrote¹³ that he was very anxious to see them, since their description pleased him, and that he had raised 20,400 sesterces from Lucius Cincius for their purchase.¹⁴ Later he wrote that they had arrived at Caieta but that he had not yet had time to see them, though he had arranged for the payment of the carriage fees.¹⁵

In the small portico at the villa Cicero had some *exhedria* built,¹⁶ and these were adorned with paintings, for he was very fond of that sort of art above all others. There was also a cryptoporticus (*ambulatiuncula*) somewhere in the buildings. Bahr¹⁷ speaks of a high wall round the estate, but he gives no references, and there seems to be no evidence for the statement, though the fact is not improbable. Marcus Tullius Laurea refers to the villa in a line of poetry:

*atque Academiae celebratam nomine villam.*¹⁸

When Tiro's health was bad, Cicero sent him to the *Tusculanum* for recuperation.¹⁹ A fragment of a lost work,²⁰ *De Gloria*, refers to *gladiatorii sibili* whom Cicero received at the villa.

We know certain facts about the location of the villa. Cicero paid water rent to the Tusculans for the use of the Aqua Crabra.²¹ Thus the villa, or at least a part of it, could not have been higher than the source of the aqueduct, which has been identified by both Ashby and Lanciani with the springs 612 metres above sea level in the Valle della Molara under Colle Bartolucci to the north of the site of the eighteenth milestone of the Via Latina.²²

¹² *Att.* I, v, 7.

¹³ *Ibid.* I, ix, 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* I, viii, 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* I, iii, 2, dated 67 B.C. Cf. also *Fam.* VII, xi, 2.

¹⁶ *Fam.* VII, xxiii.

¹⁷ Paul Oswald Bahr, *Tusculum*: Magdeburg (1899), 22.

¹⁸ E. Baehrens, *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*: Leipzig (1886), 316.

¹⁹ *Fam.* XVI, xviii, 1.

²⁰ Preserved by Charisius, I, p. 81, 11.

²¹ *Agr.* III, 9; *Balb.* 45; W. Liebenam, *Stadtverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*: Leipzig (1900), 17. Cf. also *Fam.* XVI, xviii, 3.

²² Cf. *Papers* v (1910), 232, 388. The Valle della Molara is the modern name of the

When Caesar was surveying the land around Veii and Capena with a view to distributing it among his soldiers, Cicero²³ was disturbed because this was not far from the *Tusculanum*, but the statement must be taken loosely and furnishes no topographical information. Plutarch²⁴ merely locates the villa near Tusculum. The villa was near that of Lucceius,²⁵ that of Lucullus,²⁶ and that of Gabinius,²⁷ but we do not know how near, nor do we have any knowledge of the location of the villas of Lucceius and Gabinius, and only doubtful information concerning that of the villa of Lucullus.

Some writers²⁸ have located this latter estate at the Villa Torlonia in Frascati, basing their view upon the testimony of Kircher:

... altera villa fuit eo in loco, ubi modo hortus Ludovisiorum est, uti ex inscriptionibus quorundam lapidum ibidem inventorum hisce verbis: L. LUCUL. LUC. F.

Lanciani supposed that the letters were on lead pipes, and this is possible, as Ashby says, but Dessau²⁹ rejects the inscription as false, and, indeed, if the inscription were on stone, as Kircher says it was, we should expect the name to be given in a fuller form. The inscription is of a type more appropriate to lead pipes or bricks than to stones. If it be authentic, and the provenance given by Kircher correct, then the villa is probably that of Lucullus. But there is another difficulty: Plutarch³⁰ tells us that Lucullus' tomb was built on his estate at Tusculum. There is now, at least, no large tomb very near the Villa Torlonia. That between Frascati

largest of the Alban craters, lying immediately to the south of Tusculum. Through it run the courses of the Via Latina and the modern Via Anagnina. Colle Bartolucci is some four Roman miles farther on than Tusculum, to the southeast.

²³ *Fam.* ix, xvii, 2.

²⁴ *Cicero* xl, 3, and xlvii, 1.

²⁵ *Fam.* v, xv, 2. Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 84, 193), on the basis of a sepulchral inscription containing the name of M. Lucceius Ephebicus (*C.I.L.*, xiv, 2549), which was found near the tenth milestone of the Via Latina, now called Villa Senni from the residence of Count Senni, wishes to localize Lucceius' villa at this spot, but sepulchral inscriptions of unimportant persons found near main thoroughfares are no indication of the presence of an estate of the same family in the neighborhood.

²⁶ *Fin.* iii, 7; iv, 80; *Acad. Pr.* ii, 148.

²⁷ *Pis.* 48; *Dom.* 124; *Sest.* 43.

²⁸ E.g., Kircher, Vulpinus, Lanciani. On the ancient remains at the villa see *Papers v* (1910), 247-250; Grossi-Gondi, 113-141, and the authorities they cite.

²⁹ *C.I.L.* xiv, 209*.

³⁰ *Lucullus* xliii.

and the Villa Lancellotti is too small and of a later period; that known as "Torrione di Micara," which stands west of the modern Via Tuscolana and south of the Osteria Belli and is also known locally as "Sepolcro di Lucullo," is probably too far away, though it is of date close to the time of Lucullus and may, indeed, be the tomb in which he was buried. A century before Kircher's time the villa was owned by Annibale Caro, translator of the *Aeneid*, who seems to have thought that it had belonged to Lucullus.³¹ Whether this information came from the same "stones" as Kircher's or whether he had independent information is not known, and Kircher may, indeed, have been referring to statements of Caro.³²

We must now consider three statements of Cicero which appear, at least, to give valuable topographical information. In a letter to his friend³³ he says that the villa "*devium est τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν et habet alia δὲσχηρῆστα*." This statement has been convincingly shown by Ashby³⁴ to mean that the villa was off the beaten track and that chance meetings with friends who were going south and might consequently carry his letters were unusual, since the villa was on the less used Via Latina and not on the Via Appia, which was the route taken by most through traffic. As this would be equally true of any villa in the *ager Tusculanus*, we get little information from the passage.

Elsewhere Cicero³⁵ apparently states the contrary, i.e., when he is at Tusculum he will get letters from Atticus more frequently, but here he is comparing not his frequent stops along the Via Appia en route to Rome but his isolated villa at Astura. The final passage is that in which he refers to the difficult problem of the location of Tullia's tomb.³⁶

Fanum fieri volo neque hoc mihi eripi potest. sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter poenam legis studeo quam ut maxime adsequar ἀποθῆωσιν. quod poteram, si in ipsa villa facerem; sed ut saepe locuti sumus, commutationes

³¹ *Lettere inedite di A. Caro, con note di Mazzuchelli*: Milano (1830), III, 117. The letters in question were written in 1565.

³² Inscriptions of freedmen of the gens *Licinia* (C.I.L. XIV, 2721-2722), found near by, do not have any significance for our problem, though Grossi-Gondi advances them as partial proof.

³³ *Att.* VII, v, 3.

³⁴ *Papers* v (1910), 237 f.

³⁵ *Att.* XII, xlv, 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.* XII, xxxvi, 1.

dominorum reformido. in agro ubicumque fecero, mihi videor adsequi posse ut posteritas habeat religionem.

Arguing from this passage Grossi-Gondi maintains that Cicero's villa did not touch any of the main roads, since if it had, he might have saved himself the inconvenience of buying a special site for the tomb by measuring off a space *in fronte et in agro*. In Ashby's opinion, however, the phrase "*in agro*" should be taken more simply. Cicero was afraid that a subsequent owner might violate the tomb if it were placed too near the house, and he thought that, if the tomb were placed away from the house or in a special property of its own, it might obtain the desired immunity. The latter interpretation is more reasonable, and thus from this passage also we get no topographical details of any value.³⁷

When Cicero suffered banishment in 58 B.C., the consuls appraised the value of the *Tusculanum* very illiberally at 500,000 sesterces.³⁸ The property was given to Gabinius, who vented his hatred of Cicero by violating the place, even going to the extent of transplanting the trees,³⁹ but, as we know from Sallust,⁴⁰ it was rebuilt after Cicero's return.⁴¹ Cicero apparently later wished to sell the villa,⁴² but no buyer was found, and he remained the owner.⁴³ In a letter to Atticus⁴⁴ he stated his fears of proscription while at the *Tusculanum*, fears that were well justified; for, as Plutarch tells us,⁴⁵ he was there when the proscription actually did take place.

The tradition that the Badia di Grottaferrata was built on the ruins of Cicero's villa goes back to 1453.⁴⁶ Ever since that time the task of identifying the site of the villa has attracted the attention of many writers.⁴⁷

³⁷ The same is true of the scholiast on Horace, *Epodes* I, 29.

³⁸ *Att.* IV, II, 5.

³⁹ *Dom.* 62; *Red. in Sen.* 18.

⁴⁰ *Cic.* 3-4.

⁴¹ Grossi-Gondi points out the lack of evidence that both the *Formianum* and *Tusculanum* were restored at public expense, a view held by Vitelli and Mazzoni, *Storia della Letteratura Latina*: Florence (1901), 215.

⁴² *Att.* IV, II, 7.

⁴³ Cf. *Q. Fr.* II, II, 1.

⁴⁴ *Att.* XIII, XXXVIII, 2.

⁴⁵ *Cicero* XLVI-XLIX.

⁴⁶ Flavius Blondus of Forlì (1388-1463) in his *Italia Illustrata* (Cod. Vat. Lat. 1945, fol. 36). Cf. G. A. Harrer, *Am. Jour. Arch.* XXVIII (1924), 266.

⁴⁷ Besides those already cited the following should be listed: Anonymous, "D'una Antica Villa Scoperta sul Dosso del Tuscolo," *Giornale de' Letterati* XIV (1746), 115-134;

In attempting to fix the site seven different views have been put forth, each of which will be discussed in turn together with the evidence, trustworthy or false, that has been adduced to support each view.

I. The chief proponents of the first view, that the site of Cicero's villa is that of the Badia di Grottaferrata, include among others Mattei, Cardoni, Cozza-Luzi, and Tomassetti. The Badia stands at the southwest end of the principal street of Grottaferrata, overlying the ravine that starts at the Ponte degli Squarciarelli in springs which have been identified by Ashby⁴⁸ as the source of the Aqua Iulia. The monastery buildings were first erected in the eleventh century on remains of ancient structures which have been thought by Grossi-Gondi to have belonged to the Acilii and to the Vestricii, but upon insufficient grounds.

Underneath the piazza in front of the church and on the slope of the deep gorge of the Marrana there is a large cryptoporticus consisting of five corridors parallel to the façade of the church. Only the two outer corridors are now visible; in them are now twenty-seven arches. Light is admitted through small windows typical of a cryptoporticus. The facing of these walls is selce reticulate and quoins of the same material. To the northwest are small rooms of the same material but of inferior workmanship, and further north there may be seen the entrance of another corridor, now inaccessible, but running at right angles to the five already mentioned. On the east side of the platform another similar corridor runs under the *Raccolta d'Arte* but is also inaccessible. Within the church visitors are shown, through a small window in the marble veneer surrounding the pillars of the nave, one of the ancient columns that once adorned the villa. In the blocks removed in 1930 from the façade of the church no ancient pieces of importance were found, but a stone that had filled one of the

B. Cardoni, *De Tusculano M. T. Ciceronis*: Rome (1757); A. Nibby, *Analisi Storico-Topografico-Antiquaria*²: Rome (1848), III, 293-362; G. Cozza-Luzi, *Il Tusculano di M. Tullio Cicerone*: Rome (1866); M. Albert, "Sur une villa de Tusculum," *Rev. Arch.* xxxviii (1879), 20-27; D. Seghetti, *Memorie Storiche di Tuscolo Antico e Nuovo*: Rome (1891); R. Cagnat, "Le Tusculanum de Cicéron," *Jour. des Savants* ix (1911), 145-152.

⁴⁸ *Papers* v (1910), 386-388.

clerestory windows was found to bear a fragmentary inscription consisting of a number of moral sentiments in Stoic vein.⁴⁹ As the style is hardly elevated enough to be that of Cicero, the discovery of the inscription has no topographical importance.

The ruins to the east of the Badia along the road to Ponte degli Squarciarelli are not ancient, but southeast of the monastery on the other side of the moat there are a few remains of selce concrete walls faced with reticulate; these preserve the orientation of the ancient villa. In the walls of the moat are occasional ancient fragments, mostly of marble.⁵⁰

The arguments in favor of this site are as follows: (1) There is a strong local tradition that this was the site of Cicero's villa, which can be traced to the year 1453, when Blondus mentions it in writing for the first time. That it did not greatly antedate his time, however, is fairly certain, as it is not mentioned by the antiquary Pietro Amelii, Bishop of Sinigaglia, in his account of the visit of Gregory XI to the Badia in 1377. The abbot Luca, who wrote a life of San Bartolomeo, the builder of the church in the eleventh century, mentions ancient ruins on the spot but says nothing of Cicero.⁵¹ Thus the tradition, without confirmation from other evidence, would be worthless. (2) A number of inscriptions⁵² that have been supposed to come from this site or near it have been used to support the tradition, but, as they are either spurious or from other sites, they may be dismissed. (3) Certain objects found here have been believed to point to Cicero's ownership. They include headless busts of Cicero and Cato; a circular base thought to be a *τραπέζοφόρος* mentioned by Cicero; and the Hermaphrodite (really an Apollo),⁵³ which was identified

⁴⁹ R. Paribeni, "Grottaferrata: Iscrizione Latina con Sentenze Morali," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1932), 117-119, summarized in *Am. Jour. Arch.* xxxvii (1933), 133.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Papers* v (1910), 231 f.; Grossi-Gondi, 63 f.; Cozza-Luzi, 66; A. Rocchi, *La Badia di Grottaferrata*²: Rome (1904), 11.

⁵¹ The testimony of many other early writers cited by Cardoni and Cozza-Luzi in support of this site has been thoroughly discredited by Grossi-Gondi in his excellent summary of the information they give (75-81).

⁵² *C.I.L.* III, 22*; VI, 396; XIV, 222*, 229*.

⁵³ *Papers* v (1910), 234; F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*: Leipzig (1881-1882), 188.

with the Hermathena discussed above. It should be needless to say that there is nothing to connect these objects with Cicero. (4) This site is low enough to permit the use of the Aqua Crabra, although, if Grossi-Gondi is right in believing that the aqueduct made a bend at the Colle delle Ginestre, then the villa could hardly have used this source of supply without a long private conduit. Moreover, the proximity of the springs of the Aqua Iulia render these a more probable source, though they are hardly high enough to permit the use of fountain jets. (5) The type of construction of the remains is such that we may assign them with some hesitation to the age of Cicero, but they may, it is true, be later. Thus upon close scrutiny all positive evidence in support of the location of Cicero's villa upon this site disappears.

II. The partisans of the second site, the ancient remains within the grounds of the Villa Ruffinella, include Zuzzeri, the anonymous writer in the *Giornale de' Letterati* for 1746,⁵⁴ and Seghetti.⁵⁵ The villa was first noticed in 1741 when the Jesuits, then as now the proprietors of the villa, were building under the direction of the architect Luigi Vanvitelli a new wing for the palace. How much of the villa remained intact at that time is not clear, but walls were destroyed to get material for the new building. For our knowledge of the remains we are dependent upon Zuzzeri's account, supplemented by the article mentioned and by Winckelmann's detailed description of the baths.⁵⁶

As Ashby points out,⁵⁷ Lanciani is wrong in thinking that this villa had formerly been regarded as Tiberius' property, since the excavations of 1831-1834, in which Canina found a headless seated statue which he restored as Tiberius, took place much farther

⁵⁴ Though this article bears the same title as Zuzzeri's book, they should not be confused. The former is reproduced by C. Fea, *Miscellanea Filologica, Critica e Antiquaria*: Rome (1790-1836), II, 130.

⁵⁵ W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*: New York (1927), 251 f., "hopes" that the Ruffinella theory is correct, and this seems to be true of Ellen C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region*: London (1932), 496.

⁵⁶ J. J. Winckelmann, *Storia delle Arti del Disegno, tradotta da Carlo Fea*: Rome (1784), III, 84 f., 211-214, tavv. xx A, B, C.

⁵⁷ *Papers* v (1910), 335-338; cf. Grossi-Gondi, 148-151; Lanciani, *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* XII (1884), 174-177; *Storia*, III, 47; Canina, 86 f., tavv. ii-iv.

east in the building now regarded as a temple, perhaps that of Jupiter.

The visitor to Tusculum who ascends the hill through the Villa Ruffinella may recognize the site under consideration by the open platform, surrounded by a double row of magnificent pine trees, which he passes on the right some five hundred metres southeast of the *palazzo*.⁵⁸ At present only a few remains are visible. To the west there is a rectangular platform with traces on the southwest of substructions of selce concrete and quoins. On this platform there is a cowshed, and to the north of the trees is a two-story concrete statue base which is probably of postclassical date. On the northeast side of the platform a small excavation has revealed a corridor running into another (upper) platform, and this is faced with selce reticulate. Further east are remains of three concrete reservoirs, one of them open, the others originally having had vaults. To the east of these and lower down on the hill to the south is a concrete wall that Ashby was inclined to regard as postclassical. This view is probably correct, though at times the wall, which now stands free of the hill, has seemed to me somewhat like ancient work. Farther east from this wall are some ruins clearly mediaeval in date. Underneath the platforms there is no doubt a complicated system of rooms, of a type similar to those of an ancient villa now called "il Barco di Borghese," which stands east of Frascati on the road to Monte Porzio;⁵⁹ and on the southwest facing there are places where there may have been entrances to such chambers. A simple excavation would settle the point.

According to the anonymous writer the villa had four courts, but Zuzzeri mentions only two, and Lanciani accepts this as being more nearly in accord with the usual country house and with the contours of the ground. The principal rooms were to the north; the baths, to the south. On three sides there was a peristyle with cryptoporticus, but the exact location of the latter is in doubt. Two of the courts had *impluvia* of peperino with the bases of the columns still in position. Zuzzeri says that the two porticoes were of

⁵⁸ For views see Lanciani, *Wanderings*, 263; S. Kambo, *Il Tuscolo e Frascati* in the "Italia Artistica" series: Bergamo, Istituto di Arti Grafiche (1920), 14.

⁵⁹ *Papers* v (1910), 327-329.

different sizes. There were two apsidal halls, the walls of which were covered with shells, and there were seats in the curves of the hemicycles. In some of the smaller rooms were beds. All the walls had plinths of veined marble, and, above, these were painted in beautiful style. The floors were generally of mosaic in geometric designs; among them was found the Minerva mosaic now in the *Sala a Croce Greca* in the Vatican.⁶⁰

Underneath the platform was at least one cistern, possibly several, with three chambers cut by five arches. The hole through which the rain water entered was visible, and Lanciani appears to have seen this also. The walls were preserved to the height of a few palms above the ground, the villa measuring roughly 110 by 65 metres. A Bacchus and a Medusa were found but crumbled at once. Both Zuzzeri and the anonymous writer make much of a sun dial that was found, since upon it they base their arguments that this was Cicero's villa. The most important inscription found here records an honor paid to Marcus Gavius Appalius Maximus,⁶¹ and if it was really found here and not farther east at Tusculum itself, Gavius may have owned the villa. The head of Socrates now in the Villa Albani⁶² may have come from this site, but such a head might as well have been owned by any wealthy Roman as by Cicero.

The arguments advanced by Zuzzeri and others to prove that this was Cicero's villa are these: (1) In the villa was found a *horologium solare*; but Zuzzeri is wrong in thinking that such an object was rare in antiquity. (2) Mosaics of *lithostraton* pavement were found here, and as this type of paving was common in the time of Sulla, who probably owned Cicero's villa before him, we have

⁶⁰ Grossi-Gondi, tav. vii; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*²: Leipzig, Teubner (1912-1913), I, 314. On other mosaics from the same site see Canina, tav. xlv, p. 158; Helbig, II, 1480; P. S. Bartoli, *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum*: Rome (1750), append. ii, tav. xi; H. Graeven, *Jahrbuch Arch. Instituts* xv (1900), 197.

⁶¹ *C.I.L.* XIV, 2607. Other inscriptions found here: *C.I.L.* XIV, 2631, 2635, 2640, 2668a; xv, 7839 (?), 7858, 7872, 7874, and the following brickstamps: *ibid.*, xv, 566.b.2; 571.1; 595.b.32; 861.15; 966.d.7; 965 (?); 2233=xiv, 4090.8 and 2277; *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* xviii (1890), 111.

⁶² Helbig II, 1884; J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*: Munich (1901), I, 187, no. 8.

here some slight indication that the villa was occupied in Sulla's time, but none that Sulla occupied it. (3) There was found here a brickstamp bearing the letters M·TVLI which was supposed to prove that the building in which it was used was erected for Cicero.⁶³ Against this contention we may cite two examples of the same stamp that have been found elsewhere. Moreover, as Mommsen⁶⁴ says, the date of the stamp ought to be earlier than Cicero's day, when double consonants were in use and *cognomina* were customary. Furthermore, it is no longer believed that the names on the stamps refer to the persons for whose buildings the bricks were manufactured but to the manufacturers themselves. (4) The details of the villa under discussion fit the data that we have concerning the *Tusculanum*, but they are by no means striking and the same is true of many other sites. (5) The statement of the scholiast on Horace mentioned above (Note 37) fits this site better than any other, but it is too loose and too late to be of value.

Zuzzeri, clearly recognizing that if his theory were correct the Aqua Crabra would have to reach the height of this villa (471 metres), believed that the springs of the aqueduct were at a much lower level in the Valle della Molara. To obviate the difficulty he suggested (a) that the text of Cicero in question should be emended; (b) that Cicero paid water rent for an estate at another spot than at this villa; and (c) that, therefore, the springs of the Aqua Crabra, as then identified, were not the true springs. In this last statement he hit upon the truth unknowingly, but, although the true source of the aqueduct lies 612 metres above sea level and hence could easily have furnished water to this villa if height above sea level were the only desideratum, it is rather more than probable that conduits did not lead the water over the lower ground between the source and the villa. Moreover, the series of reservoirs at the villa itself seems to point to the absence of a first-class aqueduct.

⁶³ C.I.L. XIV, 4090.8=xv, 2277.

⁶⁴ *Papers* v (1910), 234. Marini reported the stamp as found in the Villa Ruffinella, but Vulpius says that it was found "*in vinea collegii Tusculani soc. Iesu ad viam Tusculanam praesentem, post decimum ab urbe lapidem*," thus creating a doubt as to the place of discovery. The tenth milestone of the modern Via Tuscolana is several miles distant from the Villa Ruffinella.

Finally, Zuzzeri attempted to gain credit for his theory by denying that the Badia di Grottaferrata, the only other site in his day claiming to be Cicero's villa, was actually within the bounds of the *ager Tusculanus*. Such a view has nothing to commend it, as the gorge west of the Badia makes an ideal natural boundary between the *ager Tusculanus* and that of Castrimoenium, which was situated at all events no farther away than the hill on which Marino now stands. Boundaries of this sort were, of course, quite vague in Cicero's time, and if so, then there is even less point to Zuzzeri's contention.

Here again the positive evidence for the site falls to the ground when closely inspected, and there is the added argument in this case that the site is rather high for the use of the Aqua Crabra. Many would like to believe that Cicero lived at this magnificent spot with its fine views of the Campagna toward Rome to the northwest and the Alban Mount to the south, but the probability is very strong against this site.

III. We must now notice briefly still another site, which was first suggested without discussion by Spon in 1678 and was accepted for a time by Nibby.⁶⁵ This view would identify as Cicero's villa the remains now known locally as *la Scuola di Cicerone* and *la Villa di Cicerone*. They are in fact nothing more than the east half of the amphitheatre of Tusculum and the chief temple of the city!

IV. Canina and Desjardins⁶⁶ have maintained that the villa occupied a site between Frascati and Grottaferrata, just southeast of the modern road and tramline between those towns, at a spot known locally as Ponte della Macchia. Grossi-Gondi has identified the site as the villa of the Vibii on the basis of sepulchral inscriptions of the family,⁶⁷ no two of which were found at the same spot.

At present the remains that may be seen are as follows: The lowest substruction on the northwest is of large selce aggregate, while at its west end there appears to be a space for a corridor

⁶⁵ *Viaggio Antiquario dei Dintorni di Roma*: Rome (1819), II, 40. In his *Analisi* (II, 335) he adopts Zuzzeri's view.

⁶⁶ E. Desjardins, *Essai sur la Topographie du Latium*: Paris (1854).

⁶⁷ *C.I.L.* XIV, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2525, 2560.

at right angles to it. This is now entirely filled with earth except for small fragments of the walls on each side, which protrude above the surface and are faced with reticulate. On the east side there is a wall of the same material about four metres long, now unfaced. West of this last wall is a series of six, possibly seven, broad arched recesses, each about three metres wide and faced at the back with quasi-reticulate in courses, each course being farther back than the one below it. In continuation of this row is a wall faced with quasi-reticulate, with a similar wall at right angles to it. On the upper terrace may be seen concrete walls running at right angles to the main axis, as also on the east end of the house. Under the building there is said to be a *grotta*. The various antiquities now to be seen near by have, I am told, been brought from other sites.

Nibby saw on this site a group of rooms with brickwork of the first century of our era. One of them had niche decorations with a door in the niche. Stevenson⁶⁸ saw the cement pavement of the baths, and both men record marble débris, architectural fragments, columns of gray marble and of peperino. It was at this point that the headless busts of Cicero and Cato were really found. There were also two other statues, one a man, the other a woman, both crowned with laurel, and three inscriptions on marble (these last reported by Mattei). There were also found two fine bas-reliefs and the statuette of a boy. Though the testimony of Mattei as to the place of discovery is confirmed by the manuscript of Fra Domenico of Frascati,⁶⁹ the discoveries have no topographical value. Grossi-Gondi, in whose opinion the Villa Muti to the east of this site belonged to the estate of Lucullus, brings forward the objection that this site is too near the other for Cicero to need to hurry home at nightfall, as he says he must.⁷⁰ Here Grossi-Gondi probably overstates the realism of the dialog. In any case, there is not the slightest positive evidence for the site, and the remains do not permit us to believe that the ancient structure was of the magnificence consonant with the orator's reputation.

⁶⁸ Stevenson and Nibby's observations are recorded in manuscripts cited by Ashby, *Papers* v (1910), 241 f.

⁶⁹ *Antichità del Tuscolo e Descrizione del Lazio* in the Library of the Seminary in Frascati.

⁷⁰ *Fin.* iv, 79 f.

V. That Cicero's villa was situated on the Colle delle Ginestre was first suggested by Albert, the excavator of the remains, and he has been followed with enthusiasm by Lanciani and with reservations by Grossi-Gondi, who admits that the necessary evidence is lacking but thinks that this site has the greatest probability in its favor.

The hill lies between the town of Grottaferrata on the south, the Via Latina and modern Via Anagnina on the north, and the road that connects Frascati with Ponte degli Squarciarelli on the east. The ground is now occupied partly by a school for girls and partly by the restaurant *Villa di Cicerone*.

The school building stands on the south side of the entrance drive just before the bend, and it is built directly on the ancient substruction which may be seen on the lower side of the building. This wall is made of selce concrete with small sized aggregate and has buttresses 1.00 metre wide at intervals of 2.25 metres projecting 1.25 metres from the wall. Only five of the eight buttresses seen by Ashby are now visible. This wall was probably faced with small blocks of ashlar peperino. Albert marks this spot with the word *Bains*. To the northwest there is a wall of ashlar sperone, only one course of which could be seen under the vegetation, but Ashby saw three courses, a concrete foundation beneath, and some more concrete behind, into which the blocks fitted. They are 0.50 to 0.54 metre high and were apparently bossed, but none of these details are now discernible. On the west slope of the hill was a substruction, the remains of which are now limited to a square niche facing west; but Ashby evidently saw vaulted substructions on this spot. Above this point the excavations for the building of the restaurant in 1921 brought to light considerable remains hitherto covered with earth, but the inspector, Dr. G. Mancini, arrived on the spot too late to make a plan of the whole. Just west of the restaurant there is a complicated arrangement of walls now about 0.40 metre high, which apparently were part of the baths of the villa, though the exact nature of the rooms is doubtful. Tesserae of mosaic pavements are to be seen, the walls being faced with a poor grade of selce reticulate with occasional brick courses of poor quality. Mancini speaks of remains under the

restaurant. In the débris carried away were quantities of painted stucco, mosaic tesserae, wall decorations with stucco relief, marble veneer of several kinds, an Attic base, and a terra cotta figurine of a woman. Near by were found fragments of marble columns with Ionic capitals cut out at the corners with fillets or bands. Albert speaks of a *cuniculus* that he saw on the spot and believed to be a conduit leading from the Aqua Crabra, but this Ashby preferred to identify with a reservoir. Fragments of unimportant inscriptions⁷¹ were found as well as a marble disk with a mask on one side and a marine chimaera on the other.⁷²

Grossi-Gondi sets forth the passages concerning Tullia's tomb and the inaccessibility of Cicero's *Tusculanum* and argues that the conditions made necessary by these passages are admirably met by the Colle delle Ginestre. The same might be said of almost any other Tusculan villa; and there is, moreover, no positive evidence whatever for this site. While the Aqua Crabra, the course of which is highly conjectural, may well have furnished this spot with water, there are many other villas equally well placed. Nor can the date of the remains be used to support the identification, and no cryptoporticus has ever been found on the site.

VI. We must now notice a ridiculous view expressed by Zuzzeri (apparently as an alternative to his main theory), Vulpus, and Eschinardi, namely, that Cicero owned two Tusculan villas, one at the Villa Ruffinella and another lower down where the level would be sufficiently low to use the Aqua Crabra. Eschinardi actually suggests that the two villas might have been used for different seasons of the year.

VII. We thus arrive at the agnostic position of Ashby who, followed by Cagnat with reservations and by Brtnický, refuses to identify any site, since evidence is now insufficient for such a procedure. This is certainly the only tenable view. If, in the course of agricultural operations or during the construction of new buildings in the region, some lead pipe should be discovered bearing

⁷¹ *C.I.L.* xiv, 2562-2563; xv, 661.

⁷² *Papers* v (1910), 256 f.; *Notizie degli Scavi* (1921), 275; Albert, *Rev. Arch.* xxxviii (1879), 20-27, fig. xv; Lanciani, *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* xii (1884), 192; *Wanderings*, 247-301; Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 140 n.

Cicero's name, or if some inscription should be found *in situ* showing clearly that it was erected in his villa, we might then reach a satisfactory conclusion of the whole matter but until then we must refuse to accept any site.⁷³

⁷³ The writer in G. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*: Venice (1855), xxxiii, 44-72, had to some extent anticipated Ashby's opinion for he lists all the views current in his time without expressing an opinion. G. Melchiorri, *Guida Metodico di Roma e Suoi Contorni*: Rome (1834), iii, 808-816, takes the comparatively safe position that the villa lay nearer Tusculum than Grottaferrata.

UNWRITTEN AND LOST EPICS OF THE AUGUSTAN POETS*

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The aesthetic sensitiveness of the Greeks forbade them to carve in stone the events of contemporary history or to extol them in epic verse. The more practical Roman had no such scruples and by the side of the mythological epic, securely intrenched in literary tradition, he placed the historical epic. Instituted by Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and popularized by Ennius' *Annales*, this type was assured a vogue in coming generations by the reverent esteem in which these early poets were held.

The century following the death of Ennius produced but three original epics¹ of which the writer has any knowledge: the *Annales* of Accius, the *Bellum Histricum* of Hostius, dealing with the war of 125 B.C., and an historical epic of unknown title by Furius of Antium.² These poems, it is needless to say, were historical.

Leaving aside Cicero's two attempts at epic, *Marius* and *De Consulatu Suo*, the Ciceronian age produced four original epics. Marcus Furius Bibaculus was the author of two of these, a poem on Caesar's Gallic wars and an *Aethiopsis*.³ Publius Terentius Varro wrote the third, an epic entitled *Bellum Sequanicum*, dealing with Caesar's campaign against Ariovistus. Lucius Varius Rufus, whose literary activity links the Ciceronian and Augustan periods, com-

* Read at the sixty-fourth annual meeting of the American Philological Association at Syracuse University, December 29, 1932; see *Transactions and Proceedings*, LXIII (1932), pp. ii f.

¹ The *Iliad* was translated by Ninnius Crassus, ca. 100 B.C.; another translation was made a few years later by Gnaeus Matius.

² Macrobius, *Sat.* vi, quotes a few lines from the last two of these poems.

³ Schanz, *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.* II, I, 365, argues that a certain Furius Alpinus was the author of these poems.

posed the fourth, an epic on Julius Caesar's death, probably entitled *De Morte*.⁴ Until the appearance of the *Aeneid* Varius was the epic poet *par excellence* of the Augustan writers.

Prior to the *Aethiopis* of Bibaculus all the Roman epics of whose existence the writer is aware (eight in all) and which have any claim to originality were of the historical type.

At the beginning of the Augustan age the influence of Ennius still dominated the epic field. It was apparently a matter of tradition that of all poetic forms the one best suited to the *res gestae Romanorum* was the epic, whose stately hexameters peculiarly harmonized with the *gravitas* of the Roman character. Varius follows the tradition and heads the list of Augustan epic writers with a poem in honor of the *princeps* and probably bearing his name—the third epic inspired by the deeds of the Julian house. Vergil was certainly contemplating an epic as early as 42–40 B.C., as the introductory lines of *Eclogue* VI prove. Vergil's words *reges et proelia* Servius refers to "Aeneas or the Alban kings." Professor Frank argues that Vergil began an epic as early as 46 B.C. and that this was an *Aeneid* "with Julius Caesar in the background."⁵

The epic idea lying dormant in the poet's mind was revived when he composed the introduction to *Georgics* III. The *templum* here so beautifully described is most probably allegorical of an epic that will trace the Julian line back to Troy, and the hero whose cult statue is to adorn the temple, whose exploits are to be engraved in gold and ivory on its doors, is Octavian. The campaigns (*pugnae Caesaris*) there listed⁶ are, with some poetic license, the campaigns of Octavian, planned and executed by him or delegated to his subordinates.

Vergil, then, was surely planning an epic in 42–40 B.C. He probably had this purpose in mind as early as 46, if the fourteenth

⁴ Written before 41 B.C. Cf. Frank, Tenney, *Vergil*, p. 81, note. Macrobius, *loc. cit.*, assigns to this source line 88 of Vergil's sixth *Eclogue*. Priscian (*Gramm. Lat.* II, 247, 10) quotes one line from Varro's epic. Macrobius, *loc. cit.*, quotes from the *De Morte*.

⁵ Cf. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Frank bases the date on the last two lines of the fourteenth *Catalepton*, which he refers to Julius Caesar's dedication of the temple to Venus, Sept. 26, 46 B.C. Vergil dropped the work after Caesar's death, in the opinion of Frank, who recognizes in *Aeneid* I, 286 ff. and more extensively in *Aeneid* V material from this unfinished epic.

⁶ Cf. vss. 25–33. Britain, Egypt, Armenia, Parthia are named.

Catalepton is correctly ascribed to him. In the epic as then conceived the deeds of Julius Caesar were to figure prominently.⁷ Before 30 Vergil had modified his plan to the extent that the intended epic would do especial honor to Octavian. During the fifteen to twenty years in which the *Aeneid* was germinating in the poet's mind there is discernible an important shift in the poem's centre of gravity. Donatus' words, *offensus materia ad Bucolica transit*, plausibly explain Vergil's waning interest in his theme as caused by Julius Caesar's untimely death. Vergil himself, however, assigns two other reasons: The task was too pretentious for the modest author of the *Eclogues*, and the epic field was crowded.⁸

The rising fortunes of Octavian, whom we may henceforth call Augustus, and his patronage of Vergil would sufficiently explain the poet's revived interest in writing an epic, one bestowing honor upon his patron. But peace, the keynote of Augustus' principate, now overshadowed the military deeds of Julius Caesar and his political heir, and when the *Aeneid* was finally reduced to writing, it was pervaded by the gentle spirit of Aeneas, a mythological hero.⁹

If in his youth Vergil contemplated an historical epic, the idea was distasteful to the mature poetic power of the author of the *Georgics*. A more delicate and sure appreciation of artistic values and a discernment of the changing spirit of the times probably caused this shift in the poet's point of view. It is noteworthy that Vergil was the first Roman poet who definitely broke with the Ennian tradition and sang of Rome's glory in an epic of distinctly mythological type.

In three poems whose dates probably fall within the years 30-23 B.C. Horace considers at some length the task of singing the *laudes Caesaris* in epic verse. To his friend Trebatius Testa, who had advised the poet to cure his itch for writing by lauding the exploits of "invincible Caesar," Horace pleads his inability fittingly to describe "battle lines bristling with spears" and contests

⁷ Cf. Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff., for details and for material from this original draft which appears in the *Aeneid* as we now have it. ⁸ Cf. *Eclogues* vi, 4-8.

⁹ Cf. Allen, K., "The Fasti of Ovid and the Augustan Propaganda," *Am. Jour. Phil.* XLIII, 250-260.

with Gauls and Parthians.¹⁰ In a poem of somewhat later date¹¹ Horace again voices his refusal. Themes like Achilles' Wrath (an *Iliad*) or Odysseus' Wanderings (an *Odyssey*) suit not his unwarlike lyre. An epic, then, in honor of Augustus or Agrippa he leaves to his dear friend Varius. Substantially the same reply is made to Maecenas,¹² who had evidently suggested an epic on Roman victories at Actium and in the East. Horace wisely suggests to his patron that such a theme is better suited to a history in prose and that from the latter's pen.¹³

It is significant that none of these refusals occur in poems that can be dated before 30 B.C. During the years of the composition of the first book of *Satires* (published about 35) Horace was, as it were, serving his probation as a member of the Augustus-Maecenas literary group, having been vouched for by Vergil and Varius. The publication of this book vindicated its author's claim to membership in this exclusive company on his own account.

When Horace returned to Rome after Philippi, he entered the field of satire because this was not crowded and because satire best suited his pessimistic mood at this time. He publicly recognized the supremacy of his very good friend Varius in epic and continued to hold him in high esteem.¹⁴ He did not then wish to enter the lists against Varius with a rival epic. When the publication of the first three books of *Odes* in 23 B.C. established Horace's position as Rome's foremost lyricist, the *Aeneid* was bringing Vergil even greater fame as Rome's greatest writer of epic. Obviously Horace would have less inclination to become a rival of Vergil.

Horace's alleged reason for not writing epic is lack of ability,¹⁵ and the seriousness with which he states this and his well-known candor lend it credence. This excuse he reinforces with the claim

¹⁰ Cf. *Sat.* II, 1, especially vss. 12-15, dated ca. 30 B.C.

¹¹ *Odes* I, vi, written after 29 B.C.

¹² *Odes* II, xii, of indeterminate date. Horace's last statement on the epic question is addressed to Iullus Antonius. In jesting mood Horace leaves to him the task of welcoming in proper epic strains the emperor on his return from the German frontier. Horace himself will celebrate the occasion with a modest ode. Cf. *Odes* IV, ii, dated ca. 15 B.C.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 9-12.

¹⁴ Cf. *Sat.* I, x, 43 f.; *Odes* I, vi, 1 f.

¹⁵ Cf. *Sat.* II, i, 13-15; *Odes* I, vi, 5-10; II, xii, 1-9.

that lyric is his forte,¹⁶ and his aspirations to immortal fame he bases upon it. A mediocre epic on the achievements of the Julian house¹⁷ would imperil those aspirations.

Propertius in the introductory elegy of Book II addresses to Maecenas a lengthy *apologia* for not writing epic. "Cynthia," he says in substance,¹⁸ "inspires long *Iliads* from my pen. Had I the talent I would write a real epic, choosing for my theme not tales of mythology (of Titans, Thebes, or Troy), nor Greek history (Xerxes' invasion), nor yet Roman history of past generations (the foundation of Rome, the Punic wars, the victories of Marius), but

bellaque resque tui memorarem Caesaris—

to wit: Mutina, Philippi, Alexandria, and the war against Sextus Pompey. But to trace in epic measures the glory of the Julian line back to its Phrygian ancestors ill befits my genius. The sailor's talk is of the winds, the plowman's of his oxen. The soldier counts his wounds, and the shepherd his sheep. I sing Love's battles."

The tenth elegy of Book II is wholly devoted to the proposed epic, which Propertius now definitely promises to Augustus. He prays that the Fates may spare him for the task of eulogizing the emperor's campaigns (*castra*). Illustrative of these are mentioned a punitive expedition against the Parthians and the conquest of India, Arabia, and Britain.¹⁹

When the third book of the *Elegies* was published (ca. 21 B.C.), Propertius seems to have renounced any intention of writing epic. With pride he now calls himself the Roman representative of Callimachus and Philetas,²⁰ and rests his claim to immortality on these three books of verse.²¹ The third poem raises anew the vexed question, and thrice does the author declare himself unfit for the task. He had dreamed of reclining on Helicon, where he drank of that stream from which Father Ennius had quenched his thirst. He had

¹⁶ This is the keynote and climax of *Odes* I, i, and the theme of the exalted prophecy of the concluding ode of Book III. Cf. also *Odes*, *passim*.

¹⁷ The passages cited above clearly indicate such an epic.

¹⁸ Lines 14-45 are summarized.

¹⁹ The first three of these, probably also the fourth, had not materialized when this poem was written. The last two ended in failure and added no lustre to the Roman name.

²⁰ Cf. III, i, 1-6.

²¹ Cf. III, ix, 43 f.

essayed to sing of Rome's prowess in arms.²² But Apollo forbade him:

*Non his ulla tibi speranda est fama, Properti:
mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis.*²³

Apollo reiterates his admonition, changing the figure of the car to that of a tiny bark upon the waves. He now directs his votary to the cave of Calliope, who repeats the admonition. Not warlike steeds but snow-white swans must draw the bard's chariot, far from the hoarse trumpets of war.

Like Horace, Propertius gives no hint in his first book of published verse that he has an epic under consideration. The "Cynthia Monobiblos" won for its author membership in the Maecenas Circle. The lengthy *apologia* that opens Book II, followed by three others,²⁴ accompanied as they are by extended lists of epic subjects, indicates that Propertius was giving much serious thought to the matter. These themes are in large measure concerned with military operations of the opening years of Augustus' reign. Most prominent among them is naturally the victory at Actium.

With their pleas of inability to write epic Horace and Propertius couple their aspirations to fame in other fields, the one in lyric, the other in elegiac poetry. The well-known candor of both lends weight to these statements, which are uniformly serious in tone. Both, too, were decidedly independent in their demeanor toward their patrons²⁵ and were not afraid to risk offending them by these repeated refusals. Both, however, felt the obligation to repay imperial patronage by "sounding the national note."

Horace proved that Rome's greatness could be extolled in lyric measures, a new use for lyrics among the Romans but one not alien to the patriotic utterances of Alcaeus or Pindar. After Cynthia's death, when Propertius' ardent passion for her had cooled, he, too,

²² Another extended list of wars follows, from the Alban kings to Caesar's victory over Ariovistus. Cf. vss. 7-11; 39-45. ²³ Vss. 17 f. ²⁴ II, x; III, iii; III, ix.

²⁵ Horace once refused to come back to Rome at the insistent request of Maecenas and offered to return to the latter all his gifts. Cf. *Epp.* I, vii. Augustus' peremptory command that Horace become a member of the court in the capacity of private secretary to the former was not obeyed. Cf. Roth, C. L., *Suetonius*, p. 297. Morose and self-centred, Propertius maintained a distant attitude toward all his acquaintances.

began to bethink himself of his obligations to the administration. This debt he began to discharge with those aetiological and historical poems of Books III and IV²⁶ and especially with the noble *laudatio* of Cornelia which closes his published verse. This elegy alone would amply square the author's account with the imperial family.

The Augustan age produced a host of aspirants to fame in the epic field. Varius' second epic, the one in honor of Augustus, doubtless came within this period. The emperor himself is credited with another, entitled *Sicilia*, describing his war against Sextus Pompey.²⁷ One of Ovid's youthful attempts in poetry was a *Gigantomachy*, which he left unfinished when Cupid beckoned him away to love elegies.²⁸ The poem may have contained adroit flattery of the court by veiled allusions to Antony and Cleopatra. Ponticus was engaged on a *Thebaid* which elicited high praise from Ovid and Propertius.²⁹ Another of the latter's friends, Lynceus (if the name be not a pseudonym), seems also to have written a Theban epic³⁰ and possibly another on Heracles' adventures.³¹ Iullus Antonius, Mark Antony's ill-starred son, made Diomedes the hero of a poem in twelve books.³² Domitius Marsus, friend of Tibullus and author of prose, elegies, and pungent epigrams, wrote an *Amazonis*.³³ Albinovanus Pedo wrote epics on Theseus and Germanicus' campaign in Germany, of which he was an eyewitness in the capacity of a cavalry officer. The twenty-three surviving hexameters of the latter poem³⁴ scarcely merit the epithet *sidereus* which Ovid applies to Pedo.³⁵ Sextilius Aena chose an unknown

²⁶ Prop. II, ii passes in review Rome's illustrious foes, Hannibal, Syphax, and Pyrrhus, and reaches a telling climax in the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium; IV, i and IV, iv describe the foundation of Rome; IV, vi again celebrates the victory at Actium. These elegies, totaling 402 lines, may be understood as Propertius' fulfilment of a promise to Maecenas that he would treat epic themes (cf. III, ix, 47-60), a promise seemingly contradictory to the thrice-stated refusal immediately preceding it.

²⁷ Cf. Suet., *Aug.* lxxxv.

²⁸ Cf. *Amores* II, i, 11-17.

²⁹ Cf. Prop. II, vii, 1-4; Ovid, *Tristia* IV, x, 47. ³⁰ Cf. Prop. II, xxxiv, 37-40.

³¹ *Ibid.* 32 f. The date of the last three named epics could not be later than 26 B.C.

³² Cf. the scholiast on Hor., *Odes* IV, ii, 2.

³³ Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto* IV, xvi, 5; Martial IV, xxix, 8.

³⁴ Quoted by the Rhetor Seneca, *Suas.* I, 15.

³⁵ Cf. *Ex Ponto* IV, xvi, 6. Cf. also Quintilian VI, iii, 6; x, i, 90.

theme from contemporary history,³⁶ and Arbroni Silo the fall of Hector.³⁷

Ovid in one poem³⁸ names or otherwise refers to fifteen other epics, with the concluding hint that there were others, both published and unpublished. Cornelius Severus treated the same theme as Augustus' *Sicilia*. Ovid's high estimate of this work as a *carmen regale*³⁹ is not corroborated by Quintilian, who says that Severus was a better versifier than a poet.⁴⁰ Of this epic twenty-five lines are extant, which describe the death of Cicero.⁴¹ Rabirius courted imperial favor with an epic on the campaign against Antony and Cleopatra. Ovid's characterization of Rabirius as "mighty-mouthed"⁴² is again not substantiated by Quintilian, who contents himself with saying that Rabirius is not unworthy of one's spare moments.⁴³

We may pass in swift review the remainder of Ovid's list, most of whom he and Schanz have rescued from total oblivion, an oblivion doubtless well deserved despite Ovid's suggestion that they are worthy of remembrance. Sabinus chose as his subject Flaccus' campaign in Moesia. Carus wrote on Heracles, Lupus on Menelaus and Helen, and Tuscus on Demophoon and Phyllis. Camerinus described the capture of Troy by Heracles. Macer and Tuticanus drew on Homeric myth. Largus treated Antenor's settlement in the Po valley. Montanus chose an unnamed topic. Trinacrius (the name probably denotes merely the author's nationality) dealt with Perseus, whether the hero of mythology or the Macedonian king it is impossible to say.

Ovid, finally, mentions a *Phaeacis* without citing the author's name⁴⁴ and alludes vaguely to two more poems, anonymous both in title and authorship, the one concerned with the "sail-covered sea"⁴⁵ and the other with battles between Romans and Libyans.⁴⁶

It is highly probable that there were other Augustan epics now

³⁶ Cf. Seneca, *op. cit.* vi, 27.

³⁷ Seneca (*op. cit.* II, 19) quotes two hexameters.

³⁸ *Ex Ponto* IV, xvi.

³⁹ *Ibid.* IV, xvi, 7.

⁴⁰ Cf. Quintilian x, i, 89.

⁴¹ Quoted by Seneca, *op. cit.* vi, 20.

⁴² *Ex Ponto* IV, xvi, 5.

⁴³ Cf. Quintilian x, i, 90.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Ex Ponto* IV, xvi, 27.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* xvi, 21.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* xvi, 23.

wholly unknown,⁴⁷ and the total number of these can never be determined. It is safe to say that there were at least twenty-five Augustan epics that have not survived. Noteworthy is the fact that some two-thirds of these were mythological. Their authors were for the most part friends or contemporaries of Ovid, who were writing after Vergil's death. It would seem that the *Aeneid* exerted a quick and potent influence which in large measure offset the Ennian tradition that Latin epics should be of an historical character.

The fostering attitude of Augustus and his ministers toward literature was a powerful incentive to writers of both prose and poetry. The great wave of nationalism that swept over the Romans at this time brought with it a flood of epics. Whether these poetasters wrote historical or mythological epics, they doubtless worked in much open or veiled flattery of the court. They probably, however, received no more recognition than their scribblings merited. The good judgment of three at least of the great Augustan poets in declining to write historical epics is proved by the poor quality of this type of Roman poetry now extant.

⁴⁷ C. Valgius Rufus, consul-elect in 12 B.C., had epic talent comparable to Homer's, according to the author of Tib. iv, i, 179 f. Ovid's long list of epic poets includes the names of four possible writers of epic: Numa and the two Prisci (*ibid.* iv, xvi, 10), and Marius, *scripti dexter in omne genus* (vs. 24).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY AMONG THE ROMANS

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It is a truth in literary history that prose is a product of later development than poetry. Before people write or speak artistically they sing. So it is not to be expected that early Rome produced a lofty degree of finish in prose writing. The source of Roman historical prose is to be sought in religion. The pontifices early made a most extensive use of writing: They framed rules for religious worship and ritual; they made compilations of the rulings of the priestly colleges, on cases both sacerdotal and administrative, which might serve as precedents on future occasions; and they kept records of their meetings. It was with religious formality and in language largely borrowed from religion that early treaties were concluded with the Latin tribes or with the Carthaginian power. Horace mentions the enthusiasm commonly felt even in his day for the ancient inspired style of Latin used in the Twelve Tables, the kingly treaties, the priests' books, and the time-honored prophecies (*Epp.* II, i, 23-27):

*Sic fautor veterum ut tabulas peccare velantis
quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum
vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum
dictilei Albano Musas in monte locutas.*

Thus the pontifices, originally an advisory body to be consulted by the king on matters of ritual, became the depositories of sacred tradition. Their records consisted of the *Libri Pontificum*, the *Commentarii Pontificum*, the *Fasti*, and the *Annales*. Of these the *Libri Pontificum* gave the order of ritual and ceremony, and the

Commentarii Pontificum contained rulings on disputed or difficult points. The *Fasti* were originally a list of the days for "awards" or administration of law by the praetor, enumerating also the feasts, games, markets, and sacrifices that fell on each day.¹

Later, amplified by the addition of anniversaries of disasters and notes on constellations, they developed into a calendar combining sacred, legal, historical, and astronomical information and were, no doubt, brief and tedious. The public had no access to them till the year 304 B.C., when Gnaeus Flavius posted the calendar in the Forum. From denoting a list of days and months, the *Fasti* later broadened out to include a list of years, containing the names of annual magistrates (*Fasti Consulares*), the triumphs held in each year (*Fasti Triumphales*), and the names of the priests (*Fasti Sacerdotes*).

The *Annales Pontificum*, or *Annales Maximi* as they were later called to distinguish them from briefer chronicles, were intended for the public. It was an old custom for the pontifex maximus to exhibit annually a white tablet containing a list of magistrates, memorable events, and prodigies of the year. Servius says that when they were collected by Pontifex Scaevola in 120 B.C., they comprised eighty books.² Although the custom of keeping such books had been of ancient origin, few were extant from ancient times, since the oldest portions had been destroyed by fire in the Regia, the official residence of the pontifex maximus. In the *Annales* there was, of course, no attempt at stylistic effect,³ and their official character and the fact that they were intended for popular use produced an intentional distortion as well as suppression of historical truth.

Early history also received contributions from the records of temporal magistrates. The *Commentarii Magistratum* recorded the transactions of individual magistrates, and the *Libri Magistratum* recorded their names. Some of the latter were written on linen, one of the writing materials of ancient times, and were

¹ Cf. Varro, *L. L.* vi, 29: *dies fasti per quos praetoribus omnia verba sine piaculolice fieri.*

² *Ad Aen.* i, 373.

³ Cf. Cic., *De Leg.* i, ii, 6: *Annales pontificum maximorum quibus nihil potuit esse ieiunius.*

called the *libri lintei*; they were preserved on the Capitol in the temple of the goddess Moneta.⁴

Besides these records of the priests and of the temporal magistrates there were also private documents, chiefly in the form of family chronicles, which "gratified patrician pride by panegyrics on their ancestors." Of such a nature were the pedigrees (*stemmata*), the inscriptions beneath ancestral busts (*tituli, elogia*), and the funeral eulogies (*laudationes funebres*), in all of which historical truth was often disregarded for laudatory fiction. Their untrustworthy character is attested by Pliny,⁵ by Livy,⁶ and by Cicero.⁷

This characteristic tendency of the Romans to trace their ancestry into the glorious legendary past found its ideal utterance in Vergil's elaboration of the descent of the Julian house and is also illustrated in the books of Atticus on the Junian family, the Marcelli, Fabii, and Aemilii.

That the Romans possessed a ready mind for history as a storehouse of glorious deeds done in the past to be imitated by present and future generations is clear from the above discussion of their public and private chronicles. The writing of this history differed both in aim and method from modern historiography. Quite foreign to the Roman was the desire to discover and perpetuate truth; rather was he guided by the practical purpose of placing his nation, family, party, or person in a favorable light. Plutarch⁸ tells us that Cato wrote books of history with his own hands and in large letters so that his son might start in life with a useful knowledge of what his forefathers had done, and Lucilius mentions another Roman who wrote history for his children.⁹ The Roman historian had quite naturally a scant conception of the value of the investigation of original records or of historical criticism and he made but a superficial use of the great fund of public records at Rome.

⁴ Liv. iv, xx, 8: *magistratuum libri quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Lici-nius citat.* ⁵ N. H. xxxv, 8: *etiam mentiri clarorum imagines erat aliquis virtutum amor.*

⁶ viii, xl, 4: *viliatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis.*

⁷ Brut. 62: *his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior.*

⁸ Cato Maior xx, 5.

⁹ Lucilius 612 (ed. Marx): *veterem historiam inductus studio scribis ad amores tuos.*

Historical art or method was for a long time no less foreign to the Roman than historical aim. When history was first narrated, it naturally took the form of the old annals. Sallust is the first cultivated historian of the Romans; all previous productions "are mere registers, their materials are undigested, and there is want of an historical style." An artistic prose is always of slow growth, and at Rome native ability in this field was originally more evident in oratory than in history, for there were Roman orators before the Greek rhetoricians taught the Romans their rules.

The oldest historians preferred writing in Greek both because the Latin tongue was not yet sufficiently cultivated for historical composition and because the Greek writings in the historical field were manifestly superior to the official Latin records. The ordinary view that the oldest historians wrote in Greek to keep knowledge within the patrician circle is contradicted by the fact that one of the oldest of them, Cincius Alimentus, was himself a plebeian. The early Roman historian wrote in Greek as the oldest German chroniclers wrote in Latin and as many German writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wrote in French.

Up to the time of Sulla no *libertinus* wrote history, as is attested by Suetonius: *L. Voltacilius . . . primus omnium libertinorum . . . scribere historiam exorsus, non nisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitam ad id tempus.*¹⁰ With this statement we may compare the rose-colored picture of Tacitus: *apud priores . . . celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur.*¹¹

The task of the historian was early regarded as rhetorical; hence there was indifference if not recklessness in regard to dates and other matters of fact. Quintilian himself says: *historiis quod ipsum opus in parte oratoria merito ponimus.*¹² Because of their predilection for rhetoric the Roman historians adopted the Greek custom of interweaving speeches into their historical accounts. Cato the elder and Antipater used speeches to an exaggerated extent; the artistic historians, following the example of Thucydides, used them to gain variety and characterization of the actors

¹⁰ *De Rhet.* iii.

¹¹ *Agr.* i.

¹² *Inst. Or.* II, xviii, 5.

or of situations. They are rare in Caesar but frequent in Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. The reports of battles recorded by the early rhetorical historians, in contradistinction to those of Xenophon, Polybius, and Caesar, are either fanciful pictures or are composed in imitation of celebrated models and are in parts quite monotonous.

History and romance were actually confused by many Roman writers. Quintilian says: *historia est proxima poetis et quodammodo carmen solutum, et scribitur ad narrandum non ad probandum*.¹³ Pliny more correctly states: *orationi et carmini parva gratia, nisi eloquentia est summa; historia quoque modo scripta delectat. sunt enim homines natura curiosi et quamlibet nuda rerum cognitione capiuntur*.¹⁴ With his view may be compared that of Cicero: *quoniam . . . concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis ut aliquid dicere possint argutius*.¹⁵

There were two generations of early historians or annalists. The older one continued to the time of the Gracchi and consisted of men who had taken part in state affairs and had afterward related events in a meagre chronicle form, yet with a certain reliability. Such were Quintus Fabius Pictor, Lucius Cincius Alimentus, Gaius Acilius, and Aulus Postumius Albinus, all of whom dealt summarily with the oldest period of Roman history and at greater length with contemporary events, writing their accounts in Greek. Fabius' history of Rome from the time of Aeneas to his own period (that of the Second Punic War) was of service to Polybius, Dionysius, and Livy. Dionysius both censures and respects him; Polybius is more emphatic in his complaints, possibly being prejudiced against an author who was too obviously seeking the glory of the Fabian clan. A Latin version of Fabius' Greek text was later issued by another Fabius, perhaps a descendant of the former.

Cincius Alimentus was one of Hannibal's prisoners of war.¹⁶ There is no evidence to prove Mommsen's theory that his *Annales* were an Augustan forgery, and nothing serious to discredit the statement of Dionysius that Cincius as well as Fabius wrote in Greek. There have been, however, erroneously ascribed to Ali-

¹³ *Inst. Or.* x, i, 31. ¹⁴ *Epp.* v, viii, 4. ¹⁵ *Brut.* 42. ¹⁶ Cf. Livy xxi, xxxviii, 3.

mentus certain books on constitutional and military antiquities that were written by a later Cincius. Acilius' history was translated into Latin by one Claudius, presumably Claudius Quadrigarius. The enthusiasm of Postumius Albinus for Hellenism offended old-fashioned Romans, and to his apology for his want of Greek idiom we have Cato's retort that no one compelled him to write in Greek.¹⁷

The first Roman historian to write in Latin was Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 B.C.), a contemporary of Acilius and Albinus and a bitter critic of the weaknesses in Hellenism. Cicero considered him the father of Latin prose.¹⁸ Cato wrote much, though he pretended to despise letters, and was endowed with a narrow, intense patriotism and a versatile genius.¹⁹ At an advanced age he contributed to history the seven books of the *Origines*. The first book narrated the regal period of Rome; the second and third, the origin and development of the Italian cities; the fourth book discussed the First Punic War; the fifth, the Second Punic War; the remaining two books recorded events down to 149 B.C.

The *Origines*, if extant, particularly Books II and III, would be a most precious salvage from antiquity. Though Cato had not "the qualifications which the modern standard demands from an inquirer into origins, i.e., the comparative method applied to ethnology, law, custom, folklore, religion, and chronology, yet he had the originality to depart from the traditional sources of annalistic literature by seeking his material in Italy beyond the Palatine and the Capitol."²⁰ Because of his anti-aristocratic bias he suppressed the names of generals²¹ and ironically celebrated the name of Surus, the bravest elephant of the Carthaginian army. Thus Cato pointedly showed that history need not be subservient to family pride or the glorification of individuals. His style in the few extant passages of the *Origines* gives an impression of forceful vigor rather than of an artistic form.

¹⁷ Polyb. xxxix, 12, 1-5 (= xxxix, i, 1-9). ¹⁸ Cf. *Brut.* 61.

¹⁹ Livy xxxix, xl, 5: *versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit ut natum ad id unum diceret quodcumque ageret.*

²⁰ J. Wright Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*: London (1910), 25.

²¹ Nep., Cato iii, 4: *sine nominibus res notavit.*

Cato's choice of Latin as his language and his greater freedom in choosing the materials for historical composition were followed by Lucius Cassius Hemina and Lucius Calpurnius Piso. Although Piso's old-fashioned Latin satisfied Gellius²² it had not satisfied Cicero.²³ Other historians of this period were Lucius Scribonius Libo, Fabius Maximus Servilianus (consul 142 B.C.), and Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus (consul 129 B.C.). Both the latter and his contemporary Marcus Junius, surnamed Gracchanus because of his political sympathies, dealt with the constitutional power of magistrates in the course of their works.

After the revolt of the Gracchi there began the second generation of annalists, who wrote with partisan motives and ever increasing diffuseness; among the first of these were Venonius and Gnaeus Gellius. The influence of the Greek style began to appear in Gaius Fannius and, more strongly, in his younger contemporary, Lucius Caelius Antipater, who wrote on the Second Punic War. Antipater recorded information gained at first hand from Gaius Gracchus and was the first to investigate and make use of antagonistic authorities.²⁴ Cicero says that he roughhewed his work as best he could,²⁵ but also that he was an improvement on his predecessors in style.²⁶

As the rhetorical style was introduced into historiography by Antipater, the philosophic basis was introduced by Sempronius Asellio, an officer under Scipio at Numantia in 134 B.C., who attacked the annalistic method of recording only deeds and battles and of omitting causes and motives. Influenced by Polybius' pragmatical method he asserted there was a difference between telling stories for boys and writing history and did not cover up movements and policies by a mass of detailed fact. This wholesome distinction between *annales* as chronicles and *historia* (ἱστορία, investigation) as a subjective, analytical presentation of events, was not always maintained in usage. The older grammarians partly

²² *N. A.* VI, ix: *res perquam pure et venuste narrata a Pisone.*

²³ *Brut.* 106: *annales sane exiliter scriptos.*

²⁴ Cf., e.g., Cicero, *De Div.* I, xxiv, 49.

²⁵ *De Or.* II, 54: *sicut potuit, dolavit.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*: *addidit maiorem historiae sonum vocis vir optimus . . . Antipater. ceteri non exornatores rerum sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. . . . viciit tamen . . . superiores.*

defined *historia* as a description of personal experiences,²⁷ but this definition was already questioned by Verrius Flaccus.²⁸

Cicero speaks of history as the literary continuation of the *Annales*,²⁹ and whenever after the middle of the second century B.C. annals are mentioned, histories in the form of annals are meant. Publius Mucius Scaevola, who was pontifex maximus after 123 B.C., seems to have abolished the writing of the official *Annales* by the pontifex maximus, since they had become unnecessary because of the work of the private annalists;³⁰ at the same time he seems to have superintended the collection and publication of the *Annales* which then were extant.

Chronological sequence was naturally adhered to in the main in the *historiae*.³¹ Great liberty was allowed in the use of previous writers; works of predecessors were copied with or without the name of the author and with more or less additional matter and changes. The source was generally given if the writer wished to decide a disputed point by the weight of a name or by the majority of authorities or if he wished to find fault with his authority. Quotations indicating what authority was responsible were much less common. Frequently a writer would found his work on one principal source, changing it according to other sources or according to his individual pleasure.

The number of monographs and autobiographical works composed in the first century B.C. shows the increasing tendency among the Romans to treat of contemporary history under the title of *Res Gestae*. Of such a nature were the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and the memoirs of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, Publius Rutilius Rufus, and Quintus Lutatius Catulus. Sulla finished the twenty-two books of *Commentarii Rerum Suarum* two days before his death;³² his notes were completed by his freed-

²⁷ Cf. Serv., *Ad Aen.* I, 373: *Annales—inter historiam et annales hoc interest: historia est eorum temporum quae vel vidimus vel videre potuimus, dicta à τοῦ ἱστορεῖν, id est videre; annales vero sunt eorum temporum quae aetas nostra non novit, unde Livius ex annalibus et historia constat.*

²⁸ V. F., *apud Gell.*, N. A. v, 18.

²⁹ *De Or.* II, 52: *erat . . . historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio.*

³⁰ Cf. Cic., *De Or.* II, 52.

³¹ Cf. Pliny, *Epp.* I, i: *non servato temporis ordine, neque enim historiam componebam.*

³² Cf. Plut., *Sulla* xxxvii, 1.

man Epicadus,³³ but their value was greatly lessened by their anti-Marian bias. Lucullus, to whom Sulla dedicated his work, had produced in his early years a sketch in Greek of the Marian War, but it did not do justice to his talents or culture. This fondness for monographs and memoirs is attested by Cicero.³⁴ Their apologetic tendency was so pronounced that Cicero actually called one work of this kind *laudes*.³⁵ What others did not do for themselves was done for them by officious clients and, later, by starving Greek *litterati*.

History in the first century B.C. was written by Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, and Lucius Cornelius Sisenna. Quadrigarius, dropping the mythical period of Roman history, wrote a work comprising at least twenty-three books, which began with the Gallic conflagration of 387 B.C.; hence he relied more on documents and less on legend. "He combined reflection and narrative in a manner similar to Sallust, was concise and antithetical, and possessed an archaic flavor."³⁶ Unequal to Quadrigarius in sobriety was Valerius Antias, who began his work from the early history of Rome but vitiated it by his fondness for exaggeration and his partiality for the Valerii. It was sometimes called *Annales*, sometimes *Historiae*, and consisted of at least seventy-five books. We know Valerius chiefly through Livy, who mentions him more frequently than any of his other predecessors. Valerius' exaggerations in numerical statements are grossly absurd; quite frequently he has 40,000 or more of the enemy killed in battle.³⁷ Such patriotic falsifications were common in the later annalists.

More trustworthy than Antias was Gaius Licinius Macer, the father of the poet Calvus, himself both orator and historian. Neither Macer's oratory nor his history was satisfactory to Cicero; the former had accuracy but lacked charm,³⁸ the latter was marred by

³³ Cf. Suet., *Gram.* xii.

³⁴ *Ad Fam.* v, xii, 8: *scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo et clarorum virorum.*

³⁵ *Brut.* 47.

³⁶ Duff, *op. cit.*, 253.

³⁷ Cf. Livy xxxii, vi, 5-8: *Valerius Antias tradit . . . XII milia hostium eo proelio caesa . . . ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores . . . nihil memorabile actum . . . tradunt.*

³⁸ Cf. Cic., *Brut.* 238.

diffuseness.³⁹ Macer treated the earliest times of Roman history from a democratic point of view and claimed to have carefully inspected the *libri lintei*.⁴⁰

Of all this work it may be said that nothing powerful appeared in Roman historical writing before the works of Sallust and Caesar. Cicero's comments on the poor quality of historical composition even up to his own day, together with the fragments that have come down to us, reveal that with few exceptions the writers followed the abrupt and unperiodic style of Cato. The Ciceronian period witnessed the beginning of a new phase in Roman historiography. Licinius Macer was the last real annalist, since L. Cornelius Sisenna had in his contemporary history an arrangement more according to subject matter than to chronology.

³⁹ Cf. Cic, *De Leg.* I, 7.

⁴⁰ Cf. Livy IV, XX, 8.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

PLINY AND THE NIGHTINGALE

The scholar who in a recent article¹ has so charmingly traced the nightingale through the literature of classical antiquity finds his credulity strained by Pliny's assertion that

the younger nightingales study [the art of singing] and receive phrases to imitate. The pupil listens with close attention and repeats; they are silent by turns. One can perceive the correction of the one being instructed and a certain reproof from the teacher.²

The gullible Pliny often had his leg pulled by nature fakers' but not in the present instance. Aristotle³ seems to have been the first to remark that the modulated song of such a bird as the nightingale is not congenital but is a matter of training. His observation is repeated by other writers in the field of natural history, Plutarch,⁴ Aelian,⁵ Dionysius.⁶ Pliny describes the teaching process more fully than Aristotle; and if the details are added from his own observation, he is to be commended for its accuracy. Though I have not found among modern authorities any account of the pedagogical methods of the nightingale, those of the canary closely resemble Pliny's description. In the following quotation from Dr. Eckstein⁷ observe how many of Pliny's details receive confirma-

¹ Albert R. Chandler, "The Nightingale in Greek and Latin Poetry," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXX (1934), 78-83.

² *N. H.* x, 81: *Meditantur aliae inveniores versusque quos imitentur accipiunt. audit discipula intentione magna et reddit vicibusque reticent. intellegitur emendatae correptio et in docente quaedam reprehensio.*

³ *Hist. An.* iv, 536b.

⁴ *De Solert. An.* 973a.

⁵ *An. Nat.* iii, 40.

⁶ *De Av.* i, 20.

⁷ Gustav Eckstein, "Father of Eight Canaries," *Harper's Magazine* CLXIV (1932), 233.

tion. A father canary is singing to console himself for a recent bereavement:

Absentmindedly the owl breaks in. [The "owl" is a young canary, so called from some peculiarity in appearance.] The owl thinks father is going to give a lesson, but father is only singing because the world must go on, so sidles over and gives the owl a whack, from which the owl scoots but returns. A son of the second generation comes, too, stands at the other end of the back of the chair, father now between them. Neither son is making a noise, but their nearness is annoying, and father is not happy. Then presently he is sorry for them, invites them to sing, gives them one of his extraordinary lessons, works with them as with himself, puts an excitement into the teaching which few human teachers could understand.

The sons flat their notes and their trills are uneven. When father sings it is as if he were letting the whole earth come up through him. The sons on the contrary are careful, but they try. If father moves a step, the owl moves a step, keeps himself right in front of father, facing father. . . . This singing is work. The song of birds is not, as some people think, fully formed in nature but a deliberate art, passed from bird to bird round the world and through time.

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THE "ABLATIVE ABSOLUTE"

Why is an ablative absolute called an ablative absolute? How many young students who use the term have ever taken thought as to exactly what it means? It is, of course, an inverted expression, inherited from the time when Latin grammars were written in Latin. *Ablativus absolutus* is good Latin, but the best English usage usually puts an adjective before its noun. We do not ordinarily refer to an "accusative cognate," a "genitive partitive," a "verb inchoative." Consistency would seem to call for "absolute ablative."

Now this does not mean an ablative that is absolutely, i.e., purely and wholly, an ablative, as distinguished from some hypothetical one that is such only relatively. It means an ablative that is, so to speak, *absolved* (*ab + solvo = ab + se + luo*) or *freed from obligation* to the rest of the sentence, as an absolute monarch rules without restriction or limitation. In other words it is syn-

tactically independent, as contrasted with a use of the case closely bound to some other element.

I should like to suggest that the cause of clarity and good understanding would be served if, especially in schoolbooks, we were to use, let us say, the term "independent ablative" for this use of the case, instead of perpetuating what is really just a bit of grammatical jargon.

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AN ANCIENT ROBOTETTE

Polybius (XIII, 6-8), in his account of Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, tells of his various vigorous methods of assuring his power and describes an ingenious device for extracting money from unwilling contributors to the expenses of the government:

He had also constructed a machine, if one can call such a thing a machine. It was in fact an image of a woman richly dressed and was a very good likeness of the wife of Nabis (VII, 1 in Paton's translation in the Loeb Classical Library).

The text is corrupt and probably epitomized, so that the rest is confused, particularly the pronouns, but the general purport is clear:

But if anyone refused and objected to paying the sum imposed, he would continue somewhat as follows: "Very possibly I shall not be able to persuade you, but I think this Apēga of mine may do so"—this being his wife's name—and even as he spoke in came the image I have described. When the man offered her his hand, he made the woman rise from the chair and taking her in his arms drew her gradually to his bosom. Both her arms and hands as well as her breasts were covered with iron nails concealed under her dress. So that when Nabis rested his hands on her back and then by means of certain springs drew his victim towards her and increasing the pressure brought him at all in contact with her breasts he made the man thus embraced say anything and everything. Indeed, by this means he killed a considerable number of those who denied him money (VII, 6-11).

One wonders whether Livy (XXXII, xl, 10 f.) and Polybius himself (XVIII, 17), who describe in similar language the depredations

of the wife of Nabis at Argos, have perhaps been misled and whether the real Apega has been maligned because of the behavior of her mechanical namesake.

The "Scottish Maiden" and similar devices of much later times were of course quite different from the Apega of Nabis. My own acquaintance with robots in general is slight, but I recall no other female of the genus except perhaps the mechanical stenographer who figured for a time in the annals of Tillie the Toiler, although I must extend my apologies for mentioning this creature in the same breath with Apega.

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Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part II, Architecture and Sculpture*: Baltimore, John Hopkins Press (1929). Pp. 177, 315 illustrations. \$20.

To classical scholars, Olynthus is possibly the best-known site of the Macedonian area, owing to Demosthenes' famous *Olynthiacs* delivered in defense of her cause. A small town in 479 B.C., when it was destroyed by Artabazus, it became the most important city of the Chalcidic League, strong enough to oppose successfully for some time Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. In 348 Olynthus was stormed by Philip and completely destroyed. Her ruins remained buried, unnoticed, and unidentified until 1928, when Professor Robinson began his important excavations of the site. His first year's work was concentrated on the two flat hills east of the modern village Myriophyto.

On the south hill he has discovered a neolithic settlement, the earliest known in Macedonia until then, a Byzantine tower, and important remains of the historic period, which he describes in the volume under review. A series of structures dating from the sixth century B.C., identified as barracks, occupy the southeast side of the hill. To them leads a roadway from the plain, perfectly graded and paved with flagstones. By the wayside and at the place where one of the main gateways of the city, perhaps, existed, the author uncovered a fountain house with some of its clay pipes still in position, proving that the Greeks before the Romans knew the principle that water rises to its original level. The most important structures on this hill were found at its northern end. There were

discovered remains of an archaic temple destroyed by the Persians, the foundations of an altar, and those of a large rectangular building with inner rows of columns, which the excavator identifies as the Buleuterium or the Prytaneum. As the structure is surrounded by smaller buildings possibly used as offices by civil, religious, and military officials, Professor Robinson believes that this part of the hill formed the religious and municipal centre of the city. At this northern end of the hill were also discovered cut in the conglomerate twenty-two subterranean storage chambers belonging possibly to the pre-Persian city. Among the smaller finds from this section are coins, fragments of vases, terra cotta masks and figurines, a small ivory figure of a priestess holding a wreath above her head, and two fine bronze epaulettes covered with exquisite designs representing Apollo and some Thracian deity or, perhaps, Achilles and Priam.

The remains discovered on the northern hill prove that it was the residential section of the city. Foundations of structures survive giving the ground plan of at least eight houses. The importance of these architectural remains is evident when we recall that dwellings of the Hellenistic and of the later periods are known from Pergamum, Priene, and Delos, but houses dating from the great classical age, the fifth and fourth centuries, had been completely unknown and their plans only inferred from vague references in ancient authors. The remains of Olynthus illustrate the type of house in which Pericles or Plato or Alcibiades may have lived. Their large open courts, their two stories, their inner rooms and reception halls, and their bathrooms give to the Olynthian houses a staggeringly modern appearance and an air of comfort unsuspected from the writings of ancient authors. Their relative position also offers a pleasant surprise, for they are built in regular blocks separated by straight roads and avenues, cutting each other at right angles. A characteristic room of the Olynthian house is one with a large, central, rectangular depression surrounded by a raised beveled border of hard cement. The rectangular space is often paved with plate mosaic work of exceptional beauty. The large open courts are often found paved with pebble mosaics. A procession of Nereids mounted upon dolphins and hippocamps

represented in one of these mosaics is the earliest Greek pebble mosaic with human and animal figures thus far uncovered. The significance and artistic value of these mosaics are excellently described by the author, who gives us at the same time one of the best and most complete accounts of pebble mosaic work available to students of art. Among the smaller finds made in the houses is the marble head of a life-size statue of Artemis, the work of a local sculptor, dating from about 420 B.C. A discussion of the loom weights by Miss Wilson and an exhaustive study of the lamps by Professor Robinson form the closing chapters of the book.

The prompt publication of the results of the excavations at Olynthus merits especial commendation. Two volumes appeared within a year from the close of the first campaign making available to scholars the material obtained; and now eight volumes in all have appeared between 1929 and 1933, a rare achievement in the history of archaeological research. The author has spared no effort to give us an accurate and methodical report in spite of the fact that details, which may seem unimportant to the average reader but which are very important to the specialist, may break the narrative and make the reading difficult. The description of the finds, and especially of the mosaics, of the lamps, and of the sculpture, with their exhaustive bibliography, will form an important source of knowledge for students of Greek art and literature. Students of classical antiquity await with keen interest the results of Professor Robinson's third campaign, conducted in the spring and summer of 1934. Soon Olynthus will begin to look like a Greek Pompeii.

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EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, With an English Translation by
J. E. L. Oulton, Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library): London,
William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1932).
Pp. vii+491+8. 10s.; \$2.50.

The first volume of the Loeb Library edition of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, by Kirsopp Lake, containing text and translation of Books I-V and an Introduction to the whole work, was

published in 1926. The translation in this second volume (Books vi-x) originally appeared in an edition of the *Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine* by H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (The Macmillan Company in Canada and the United States); the first volume of this work, Professor Oulton's translation, appeared in 1927, followed by the second volume, containing Dr. Lawlor's Introduction, Notes, and Index, in 1928. To Lake, who had just begun work on his second volume, "it was at once obvious that to attempt another version parallel to their excellent rendering would be an uncompensated waste of time"; and at his urgent request Oulton consented to take over the preparation of this second volume. He has reprinted, practically unaltered, the S.P.C.K. version. A few misprints have been corrected (and, incidentally, one or two new ones made), a number of footnotes have been added, some forty minor verbal changes made, and in three or four cases a different interpretation more or less marked is indicated. An index (of proper names only) to both volumes is added.

Both translators had the "opportunity, denied to our predecessors, of using a finely edited critical text," that of E. Schwartz (Leipzig, 1903-1909), which is used in both volumes by permission of the Berlin Academy. A. C. McGiffert, to whose translation and notes Lake and Oulton gladly acknowledge a large indebtedness, had expressed in the preface to his volume on Eusebius in the series of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (1890), his great regret that a satisfactory critical text of the *Ecclesiastical History* had not up to that time been prepared.

A comparison of the Lake and Oulton versions of Books i-v shows, as one would naturally expect, innumerable differences in details of order, wording, and occasionally of meaning, but also a very marked similarity in style and general effect. Accordingly one notes no incongruity between the two volumes of the Loeb translation. In fact one might never suspect that they were by different hands, were he not so informed by the title pages and by the different translations of certain frequently recurring words and phrases. Both, as is perfectly proper in the Loeb edition of such a writer, show a close verbal fidelity to the text; and if one occasionally

has to compare the Greek and English in order to be sure of the meaning, that also is quite as it should be.

One could ask for no juster estimate of Oulton's work than he has himself expressed in the preface to the S.P.C.K. edition:

The style of Eusebius has failed to win the admiration of posterity and especially of those who have attempted to translate him. A distinguished scholar describes it as "wearying the reader by a rhetoric at once turgid and obscure"; and although the *History* contains some powerful and eloquent passages from the pen of its author, it must be admitted that Dr. Swete's criticism is, on the whole, just. And herein, indeed, lies precisely the difficulty that besets a translator. To reproduce literally the long and involved periods of the Bishop of Caesarea would, obviously, be impossible; but, on the other hand, in an historical work of such importance, where so much often turns upon the rendering of a phrase, the greatest care must be taken not to misrepresent the original. The present work aims at giving as readable a translation as is consistent with accuracy. But the translator feels that in the last resort he must fall back on the plea of one of his predecessors, who says: "*Nous ne pouvions donner au style d'Eusèbe les qualités qui lui manquent le plus.*"

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BYRON K. HUNSBERGER, *Types of Error in Latin Word Knowledge*:
Norristown, Pa., The Author, 313 West Fornance Street
(1932). Pp. vi+246. \$1.10.

This is a thesis emanating from the Seminary in Secondary Education of the University of Pennsylvania. It is an inquiry into the nature and causes of errors made by first-year Latin students in a vocabulary test. The purpose of the inquiry is to find some means of improvement in the building of multiple response tests and to get suggestions for teaching vocabulary. The investigator began in 1929 with the examination of errors made by pupils in 1924 in the ACL multiple choice test constructed by Grinstead. An effort was made to classify the errors on the basis of the probable mental processes or types of thinking that would lead to each kind of error. Twenty-eight types of error were found. Such a study as this, so far as it is based on ascertainable facts, should have unlimited possibilities in the development of sound pedagogical prac-

tices. But unfortunately in the present instance there were many conditions that were not favorable to satisfactory results: The Grinstead test involved 150 Latin words, some of which the tested pupils had not had in their textbooks; the range of error was limited to the suggested responses; two of the five suggested responses were taken at random from English lists involving ideas wholly alien to the Latin course, and in most cases these would be promptly eliminated by any intelligent pupil—for example, “quinine” is one of the suggested responses of *num*. This practice really reduces the responses to three for each word, and a pupil might make further eliminations if he has any sense for the parts of speech. In some cases two suggested responses were correct, though one of these was counted wrong. Such “errors” could have been entirely eliminated from the investigation. Furthermore, after the lapse of five years it was impossible to gain contact with the pupils who took the test; hence the explanations of the errors had to grow out of the imagination of the investigator and his advisers. One example will show how unsound this method is: Response “concealer” is given for *celer*. Investigator thinks pupil has confused *celer* with *celo*. But what evidence did the investigator have that the pupil had ever seen *celo*?

A supplementary investigation was made to ascertain the possible reasons for the errors in the ten random responses checked by the highest percentages of pupils in the ACL test. This was followed by contact with the pupils to learn why they checked the wrong words. Fifty-four per cent of the reasons given by the pupils were frank confessions that they had guessed.

In view of the obvious limitations of a multiple choice test for a study of this kind the investigator administered a recall test using the same Latin words as in the Grinstead test. A year later some of the same pupils who had taken the recall test were asked to give their reasons for the (erroneous) answers. The discussion of these “reasons papers” constitutes the most valuable contribution of the study. Many of the “reasons” are frivolous and unreliable; but there is enough to reveal something of the working of pupils’ minds and to suggest the lines along which improvement in the teaching of vocabularies may be made.

The chapter on findings and recommendations is, on the whole, disappointing. The suggestions seem to the reviewer to be of trivial importance when compared with inferences that might be drawn from the array of facts presented in the book. For example, over 90 per cent of the errors are attributed to false association with other Latin or with English words. This is precisely what one might expect from the current methods of teaching vocabulary. Further investigation with controlled experiments is needed to discover by what methods errors of this type can be reduced.

There is a brief bibliography followed by nine appendices giving in detail the items of the investigation.

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JOHN KINGSBURY COLBY, *Reading Latin*, A Companion to Translation: New York, College Entrance Book Co. (1934). Pp. vi+180+v. \$1.

It is not often that an elementary Latin textbook is brought out with any great claim to originality. Year by year there is more temptation for oppressed scholar and long-suffering teacher to cry out in desperation *quid novi? cui bono?* And so, when Mr. Colby's *Reading Latin* appears, with what may very well be a helpful contribution to the technique of teaching the student how to comprehend a Latin sentence in its natural word order, it fairly demands a hearing, which will surely be accorded it by all who are interested in this difficult problem.

Ever since the *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary Schools* in 1894, the so-called word-order method of teaching Latin has been constantly recommended; and when the *General Report of the Classical Investigation* in 1924 advocated it with renewed emphasis, there seemed no longer any doubt about its orthodoxy. It remained only for the old-fashioned analytical or translation method to be shelved and forthwith forgotten. But all was not to be so simple. In the classroom certain practical difficulties of procedure are encountered in putting the word-order method into practice, so that, in spite of various—and occasionally

helpful—suggestions from eminent pedagogs, the word-order method of instruction remains even today perhaps more honored in the breach than in the observance. We are a conservative people, and furtively, in the more sequestered districts, the old customs linger on. The defiant teacher goes right on asking the student to identify the subject, find the verb, and put in the objects, in order, as if the natural-word-order method had never been heard of. There is a certain futility about it all.

Now it is precisely this deplorable situation that Mr. Colby proposes to remedy with his *Reading Latin*. The first few chapters of his little volume offer a set of rules by which the student, it is hoped, will be enabled to acquire the habit of catching the meaning of each phrase or word group as it occurs in the Latin sentence. Presumably, if he reads by the natural word order, he will not only find translation greatly facilitated but will also actually grasp the genius for suspense so characteristic of Latin style, and, what is even more important, he will *really read Latin*—the ultimate goal which so few attain. Whether or not the rules and diagrams presented by Mr. Colby are practicable for the classroom can be determined only by experience; but it is only fair to say, even to skeptics, that since reading Latin in the natural word order is admitted by all to be highly desirable and since present methods for so doing are unsatisfactory, *Reading Latin* should be given every opportunity of proving its worth.

The remainder of the book contains lessons on grammar and syntax, with excellent illustrative sentences in Latin, a chrestomathy consisting of sight passages for the second year, and an up-to-date series of word lists, all of which will be found highly attractive.

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, 216 Park Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving centre and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Project in Roman Private Life for First-Year Latin

An interesting and successful project for teaching Roman private life in first-year Latin is here suggested. One of its advantages lies in the fact that it may be carried out with a minimum of reference material—with, for instance, a book on Roman private life and the pupils' own textbook, provided the latter is fairly well supplied with pictures.

Early in the year when the pupils are asking eager questions concerning Roman children, how they lived and dressed, what they ate, et cetera, suggest to them that they adopt a Roman boy and his sister and, perhaps, other members of the family. The first assignment will cover names and the rank of the family. Skilful members of the class may make cut-out dolls of cardboard of any desired size to represent the various individuals.

The next topic of interest will be their manner of dress. Again members of the class may design and make cut-outs of various costumes, which may be put on the dolls. From this point the class may branch out into the Roman children's homes, their amusements, their food, their studies, their methods of travel, *ad infinitum*. The project gains reality and continuity from the fact that the pupils are creating the lives of individual characters. By the end of the year they will not only be well acquainted with the

life of a Roman boy or girl but their desire for concrete expression will probably have produced models of many of the things connected with the biographies they have created.

Comprehension Questions for Translation Courses

Jonah W. D. Skiles of the Louisville Public Schools, Louisville, Kentucky, urges the wide use of comprehension questions in Latin and in English both to supplant and to supplement regular translation work, because he believes that they give to the pupils definite problems for solution. Moreover, questions in Latin may frequently be cast in such a way as to furnish a commentary on the text. On the other hand, Mr. Skiles warns that "ponies," unless carefully guarded against, may be used with more impunity than in ordinary translation work. He suggests that comprehension questions that go into more detail than those often included in recent textbooks are worth while and offers the following by way of illustration. The teacher may, of course, make his own questions on any level he thinks expedient. The questions should be definite, clearly stated, and as free as possible from "discuss" and "tell the story." For example:

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* I, vi.

(1) Quot itinera erant quibus Helvetii domo exire possent? (2) Ubi erat unum iter? (3) Cur vix singuli carri hic duci poterant? (4) Cur facile perpauci prohibere eos ab hoc itinere poterant? (5) Ubi erat alterum iter? (6) Cur hoc iter multo facilius atque expeditius erat? (7) Qui nuper pacati erant? (8) Quod oppidum est extremum Allobrogum et proximum Helvetiorum finibus? (9) Ubi erat pons? (10) Quid existimabant Helvetii? (11) Quo animo in populum Romanum erant Allobroges? (12) Quo consilio diem constituunt? (13) Quando erat is dies?

Cicero, *Oratio in Catilinam Tertia* 3.

(1) When did the fight stop? (2) What was done with the letters? (3) What was done with those arrested? (4) What four men were brought to Cicero? (5) Why was Lentulus last of all? (6) Who then came to Cicero? (7) Why shouldn't he do what they wanted him to

do? (8) What did he think? (9) How many of the senate did he assemble? (10) What did Gaius Sulpicius do?

Cicero, *Oratio in Catilinam Tertia* 4.

(1) Who turned "state's evidence"? (2) What did he say his orders had been? (3) With what purpose? (4) What did the Gaul then testify? (5) What did they testify about Lentulus? (6) What year had he said would be fatal to the state? (7) What had been the cause of Cethegus' disagreement?

A Reading Course for Vergil Classes

From Marguerite Pohle, Bosse High School, Evansville, Indiana, comes an outline of what may be done in the way of outside reading with a Vergil class that is well prepared, eager to learn, and willing to work. Nine of the twelve members of her class were juniors with only two years of Latin completed. The rest, all seniors, had read in addition the usual Ciceronian orations. The first week revealed a general ignorance of Greek and Roman life and literature as well as of Vergil's influence in English literature. To remedy this a definite program of outside reading was prepared. Each semester was divided into four quarters. At the beginning of each quarter individual assignments for the reading were made.

In the first quarter every one read the *Odyssey*. On the day set aside for the oral report an outline of the story was placed on the board. A collection of all available pictures illustrative of events in the *Odyssey* was put on display. The hour's discussion of Homer and his epic gave the pupils the necessary knowledge for comparing the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey* throughout the entire year's work. The *Glorious Adventure* by Richard Halliburton was used as supplementary reading.

The second quarter was devoted to the great epics of various countries. From the following list each pupil selected the epic he wished to read: Greece—the *Iliad*; Arabia and Persia—the *Shah Nameh* (cf. *Sohrab and Rustum*, Matthew Arnold); China and Japan—*The Lay of a Pious Maiden* (*The White Sister*); Iceland—the *Elder Edda*; Scandinavia—the *Volsung Saga*; Netherlands—*Joannes Boetgeant*; Germany—the *Nibelungenlied*; England—

Milton, *Paradise Lost*; Spenser, *Faerie Queen*; France—the *Song of Roland*; Aucassin and Nicolette; Spain—the *Cid*; Portugal—Camoens, the *Lusiad*; Italy—Tasso, *Jersusalem Delivered*; Ariosto, the *Orlandos*.

Each pupil gave a ten-minute report on the theme (not the plot) of the epic he had read, the names of the characters, a brief outline of the part played by the leading character, the way in which the epic reflects the life of that particular people, and the reason why the story has come down as a national epic. From these reports a definition of epic poetry was formulated and applied to the *Aeneid*.

The third quarter was given over to Greek drama: Sophocles—*Oedipus Rex*, *Antigone*, *Ajax*; Aeschylus—*Oresteia* (*Agamemnon*, *Choëphori*, *Eumenides*), *Seven against Thebes*, *Prometheus*; Euripides—*Medea*, *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *The Trojan Women*, *Electra*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In this case the oral report included a sketch of the author's life, the prolog of the play, the theme, the chorus and its purpose, the development of character and plot, the gods and their dealings, the *deus ex machina*, and the power of destiny.

Acquaintance with the life of the Greeks and the Cretans was next sought: Snedeker, C. D. P., *The Perilous Seat*; *The Spartan*; *Theras and His Town*; Davis, W. S., *Victor of Salamis*; *A Day in Old Athens*; White, E. L., *Helen*; Phillpotts, Eden, *Circe's Island*; Seymour, T. Day, *Life in the Homeric Age* (any two chapters); Leaf, Walter, *Troy, A Study in Homeric Geography*; Plutarch, *Lives* (important Greek lives); Ludwig, Emil, *Life of Schliemann*; Gulick, C. B., *Life of the Ancient Greeks*; Tolman and Scoggin, *Mycenaean Troy*; Quennell, M. C. and C. H. B., *Everyday Life in Homeric Greece*; Mills, D., *Book of the Ancient Greeks*; Van Hook, L., *Greek Life and Thought*; Mahaffy, J. P., *Social Life in Greece*; Tucker, T. G., *Life in Ancient Athens*; Baikie, J., *The Sea Kings of Crete*; Harves, C. H. and H. B., *Crete, Forerunner of Greece*.

In the first quarter of the second semester interest centred in Vergil, his life and age: Mackail, J. W., *Virgil*; *Latin Literature* (Vergil); *Virgil and His Meaning in the World Today*; Frank, Tenney, *Vergil, A Biography*; Meyers, F. W. H., *Classical Essays* (Vergil); Sellar, W. Y., *Poets of the Augustan Age* (Vergil); Glover,

T. R., *Virgil*; Rand, E. K., *Magic Art of Virgil*; Suetonius, *Life of Vergil*; Slaughter, M. S., *Roman Portraits*; Woodberry, Y. E., *Great Writers*; Boissier, Gaston, *Country of Horace and Vergil*; Moore, R. L., *The Mantuan*; CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXVI, October, 1930 (Vergil Number). Class discussion followed an outline of Vergil's life which had been written on the blackboard.

Statuary illustrating the *Aeneid* was the next topic of interest. Each pupil reported on two pieces of sculpture. Among the statues studied were: the Zeus Otricoli, Juno Barberini, Athena Parthenos, Minerva Medica, Mars Ludovisi, Apollo Belvidere, Apollo and the Muses (Room of Muses in the Vatican), Venus di Milo, Venus of Cnidus, Diana of Versailles, Hermes of Praxiteles, Mercury, Paris, Niobid group, Amazon, the bronze Boxer, bronze Charioteer of Delphi, Charioteer in the Vatican, Discus Thrower, Augustus, Victory of Samothrace, Farnese Hercules, Perseus, Laocoön, Parthenon frieze, Elgin marbles.

In the third quarter books on the life and history of the Romans were used: Bulwer-Lytton, Sir Edward, *Last Days of Pompeii*; Sienkiewicz, H., *Quo Vadis*; Davis, W. S., *Friend of Caesar*; *A Day in Old Rome*; White, F. L., *Andivius Hedulio*; Sims, Alan, *Phoenix*; Crew, Helen, *The Trojan Boy*; Snedeker, C. D. P., *Forgotten Daughter*; Hewett, Maurice, *Little Novels of Italy*; Ather-ton, G., *Dido, Queen of Hearts*; White, E. L., *The Unwilling Vestal*; Barrington, E., *Laughing Queen*; Crawford, F. Marion, *The Sign of the Cross*; Ferrero, Guglielmo, *The Women of the Caesars*; Johnston, H. W. (Revised by Mary Johnston), *The Private Life of the Romans*; Fowler, W. W., *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*; Showerman, G., *Eternal Rome* (Volume I); *Rome and the Romans*; Mills, D., *Book of the Ancient Romans*; Rostovtzeff, M. I., *Out of the Past of Greece and Rome*; Treble, H. A., and King, K. M., *Everyday Life in Rome in the Time of Caesar and Cicero*; Baikie, J., *Ancient Rome*.

For the last quarter everyone read Dante's *Inferno*. Vergil's rôle in the epic was discussed, and comparisons of the *Aeneid* and the *Inferno* were made.

By the end of the year the pupils had finished the required amount of reading for the fourth year and had completed the above

outside reading. The reading did not demand so much time as it might seem. Three of the reports, those on the *Odyssey*, Vergil's life, and the *Inferno*, were conducted in one recitation each. The other reports, if well prepared, were handled so that they were both brief and valuable. "Each student," says Miss Pohle, "felt that he had acquired definite knowledge of the ancient Greeks and Romans and had gained an insight into their life and culture."

Word Ancestry

The commonest meaning today of the English verb "comfort" is "to console"; sometimes we soften this meaning so much that we might almost as well say "coddle." But the older meaning of this word is "to make strong," from the Latin *confortare*, which in turn is from *fortis*, "strong." Usage sometimes weakens, sometimes strengthens the meaning of a word. Our word "effort" has the same source—*ex+fortis*, "a putting forth of strength." It has in it the thought of struggle. A fort, or fortress, is a strong place. A person's forte is his strong point—the thing he can do well. From the French, through the late Latin *forcia*, we have "force," and its derivatives "forcible," "enforce," etc. From the Italian we have adopted "forte" (strong, loud) and "fortissimo" (very loud), words indicating how a musical passage should be played. And Italian, of course, is not much more than modernized Latin. Both of these words may actually be found in Latin as forms of *fortis* and *fortissimus*. The derivation of such words as "fortify" and "fortitude" is too obvious to need mention.

WILLIS A. ELLIS

LOMBARD, ILLINOIS

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., or to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Further Progress with the Bimillennium Horatianum

Twenty-five states have now entered the translation contest on the high-school level, for which Jessie D. Newby of Central State Teachers College, Edmond, Oklahoma, is chairman. The regulations were published in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* for December, pages 186-88.

As a result of requests from Indiana and New York a similar contest on the college-university level has been established. The rules are similar to those for high-school students and may be obtained from the chairman, Mark E. Hutchinson, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa (cf. *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxx, 252). Twenty-four states have already lined up for this contest.

Other new national chairmen are W. R. Bryan of Columbia University, in charge of the Committee on Coöperation with Home Study, and Orma F. Butler of the University of Michigan, on Horace Exhibits in Museums. Professor Bryan is preparing a Horace bulletin, which will be serviceable to teachers and may be obtained gratis by addressing him at Valatie, New York. In applying for this, as for all other free literature, please be careful to inclose a stamp.

Additional state chairmen for the Horace celebration are: California (north), Claire Thursby,[§] 856 Contra Costa Avenue, Berkeley; Colorado,

Myrna C. Langley, North High School, Denver; Delaware, Frances L. Baird, Friends School, Wilmington; Florida, Mrs. Clara M. Olson, University of Florida, Gainesville, succeeding Professor Game; Idaho, Paul Murphy, College of Idaho; Kansas, C. I. Vinsonhaler, Southwestern College; Minnesota, Leonard H. Hauer, St. Thomas College; Mississippi, Clara E. Stokes, 254 Griffith Street, Jackson; Montana, W. P. Clark, University of Montana, Missoula; New Jersey, Edna White, 127 Summit Avenue, Jersey City, succeeding Miss Elting; and South Dakota, Grace Beede, University of South Dakota.

Gratifying progress has been made in enlisting the coöperation of additional foreign countries. In England not only will the Classical Association with branches throughout the Empire devote its meeting next April and many local meetings to Horace, but also the Horatian Society, whose secretary is Mr. L. C. Chalmers-Hunt, 55 Green Lane, Hendon, London, N.W. 4, is planning to share in the celebration. It is possible also that the British Academy will participate. J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., at Bristol have already published H. B. Mayor's translation entitled *Seventy Odes of Horace*.

In Italy Signor C. Palassi Paluzzi, president of the Instituto di Studi Romani, announces a cycle of lectures to be given in Rome by Italian and foreign scholars. The latter will lecture on Horace and the literatures of their respective countries. The lectures will later be published.

In Sweden Dr. Axel Boethius, formerly director of the Swedish Institute of Archaeology at Rome but now Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of Göteborg, will interest the Svenska Humanistika Förbundet, to which most classical teachers in the gymnasia belong. In Norway Professor Sommerfelt's interest at Oslo has already been reported. In Finland the celebration will be in charge of Professor Edvin Linkomies at the University of Helsingfors.

In Poland the Polish Academy of Sciences has taken the celebration under its aegis and appointed Dr. Leon Sternbach of the University of Cracow as chairman of its committee.

In Spain a commemorative volume will be published by *Palaestra Latina* under the direction of its editor, Professor Emmanuel Jove, C. M. F., of the University of Lerida (Cervera). In Chile the celebration will be sponsored by Professor Fernando Krebs, S. J., Prefect of Studies at the Colegio del Sagrado Corazon, Chillan. In Mexico interest will be aroused by Professor Joseph Hernandez del Castillo, S. J., who on account of political conditions is temporarily located at Ysleta College, El Paso.

Professor Werner Jaeger, who is at present Sather Professor at the University of California, has promised, when he returns to his post at the University of Berlin, to coöperate with the German scholars already listed in the November CLASSICAL JOURNAL (p. 123) in arranging for extensive celebrations. For this purpose he will work through Die Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums and its periodical, *Die Antike*.

In this country an Iowa Service Bulletin, containing a few selections from Horace with brief notes, will be published about February 1, 1935. B. L. Ullman also, as chairman of the Committee on Horace Selections for Secondary Schools, is preparing a small pamphlet containing a larger number of selections, properly annotated. It will be published at small cost by the Macmillan Company in the early spring of 1935.

Horace calendars for 1935 have been published by the St. Albans Press at Washington, D.C., and by Helen S. MacDonald at the Shippen School, Lancaster, Pa.

A list of Horatian plays and pageants was published by Lillian Lawler of Hunter College, chairman of the Committee on Plays and Pageants, in *Latin Notes* for December, 1934. A similar list may be found in the January issue of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* (pp. 242-244).

A selection of Horatian mottoes was published by M. Evelyn Dilley of the Shaker Heights High School, Cleveland, Ohio, in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxvii (1932), 509-514. A similar list may be obtained for eight cents by writing to the Latin Department of Marymount College, Salina, Kansas.

Interesting suggestions for private or group reading of Horace were published by Mildred Dean of Washington, D.C., chairman of the Committee on Reading Courses, in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxx (1934), 121.

James A. Kleist, S. J., of St. Louis University, editor of the *Classical Bulletin*, announces a series of articles on Horace to run through the current volume. The first in the series, written by John C. Rolfe of the University of Pennsylvania, appeared in the December issue. Coöperation has been promised, moreover, by *Auxilium Latinum*, published by the Association for Promotion of Study of Latin and edited by Albert E. Warsley, Box 54, P.O. Station "S," Brooklyn, New York. Special articles on Horace will appear also in the final issues for 1935 of *Classical Philology*, the *American Journal of Philology*, and the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*.

Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, chairman of the Committee on Coöperation with the American Academy of Arts and Letters, announces that a special meeting of the Academy will be held next autumn in the Academy auditorium in New York City to listen to an address on Horace by John Livingston Lowes of Cambridge, Massachusetts. At the meeting of the Classical Association of New England at Smith College on October 27, George M. Whicher of Amherst, Massachusetts, who is also chairman of the Committee on Coöperation with Non-Classical Organizations, read a paper entitled "Notes on Horace's Villas." The Horatian note has been sounded in other state and sectional meetings, too numerous to register here, during recent weeks and will reappear in the spring meetings.

The St. Louis University Classical Club is holding a series of eight public sessions, beginning October 21, 1934, and terminating May 5, 1935, under the general topic of "The Bimillennial Horace." At the University of Iowa Roy

C. Flickinger spoke over WSUI on December 9, 1934, in connection with the annual broadcast of Christmas carols. At the Classical Conference at Iowa City on February 15-16, 1935, Grant Showerman of the University of Wisconsin will speak on "Horace, the Poet of Italy."

The attention of all classical teachers is called to the fact that English teachers both in high schools and in colleges are greatly interested in the Bimillennium Horatianum and that their coöperation should be encouraged at every opportunity.

North Carolina

On December first a group of college teachers of Greek and Latin, representing ten institutions of higher learning in North Carolina, met in Greensboro for a discussion of questions bearing on the teaching of classics in the state.

At a meeting held last year there was a general agreement that beginning Latin should be introduced in the colleges. It is now reported that such work is being offered in several institutions and will probably soon be given in others. Better and closer coöperation between school and college teachers in support of the classics was discussed, and resolutions on Latin in the public schools were prepared for submission to the State Department of Education.

University of Iowa

The seventeenth Annual Conference of the Classical Teachers of Iowa will be held at Iowa City February 15-16, 1935. On Friday evening there will be addresses by Marbury B. Ogle of the University of Minnesota on "The Tombs of the Etruscans and Some Phases of Their Religion" and by Grant Showerman of the University of Wisconsin on "Horace, the Poet of Italy." On Saturday morning and afternoon there will be additional addresses by Professor Ogle and Professor Showerman entitled respectively "The Romantic Movement in Antiquity" and "The Meaning of the *Aeneid*." Berthold L. Ullman of the University of Chicago will also read two papers entitled "The Coluccio Case, or the MS Mystery" and "Cicero and Modern Politics." Other speakers will be: Ruth Martin Brown of Illinois College on "Segments of the Scipionic Circle"; Roy C. Flickinger of the University of Iowa on "Practical Suggestions for the Horace Celebration"; Philip Harsh of Iowa State Teachers College on "Apartment Houses in Ancient Rome and Ostia"; Mark E. Hutchinson of Cornell College on "The Reading Method—Is It Practicable for Latin?"; Franklin H. Potter of the University of Iowa on "Measuring Results"; O. W. Qualley of Luther College on "Political Corruption in Roman Administration from Augustus to Nero"; Edward Schmitz, O. S. B., of St. Benedict's College on "Rhyme Imagery in Horace"; and Marguiette Struble of the University of Iowa on "Latin in the State Scholarship Contest."

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- ARISTOTLE, *Aristotle's Poetics, Demetrius on Style, and Selections from Aristotle's Rhetoric, Together with Hobbe's Digest and Horace's Ars Poetica*, Translated from the Greek and Latin, Edited by T. A. Moxon (Everyman's Library): London, J. M. Dent and Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1934). Pp. 285. 2s.; \$0.90.
- AURELIUS ANTONINUS, M., *The Thoughts of the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus*, Translated by George Long (Pocket Classics): Philadelphia, David Mackay Co. Pp. 315. \$0.75.
- FERGUSON, ALICE CATHERINE, *The Manuscripts of Propertius*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago: Private Edition, Distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries (1934). Pp. iii+68.
- FITE, WARNER, *The Platonic Legend*: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1934). Pp. viii+331. \$2.50.
- HURD, HARLAN P., 3d, *The Topography of Punic Carthage*: New York, G. L. van Roosbroeck, Institute of French Studies (1934). Pp. 77. \$1.25.
- MERLO, VICTOR, *Greek Vases* (Enjoy Your Museum Series): Pasadena, Esto Publishing Co. (1934). \$0.10.
- SMITH, THOMAS V., *Philosophers Speak for Themselves*, Guides and Readings for Greek, Roman, and Early Christian Philosophy: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1934). Pp. 824. \$4.50.
- SPICER, E. E., *Aristotle's Conception of the Soul*: London, University of London Press (1934). Pp. 236. 8s. 6d.
- WADDELL, HELEN J., *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics*⁴: New York, Henry Holt and Co. (1934). Pp. viii+352. \$2.50.
- ZERVOS, CHRISTIAN, *L'Art en Grèce, Des Temps Préhistoriques au Début du Dixhuitième Siècle*: New York, E. Weyhe (1934). \$9.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Columbia, Mo.

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